UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARIES
SE 26 '47

SEPT. 29, 1947

New Republic

THREE NEW FEATURES

1. Irwin Shaw on the Theater
2. Eva Putnam on the Press
3. Harold Wolff on Business

THE VISHINSKY-MARSHALL ROW

—by Michael Straight

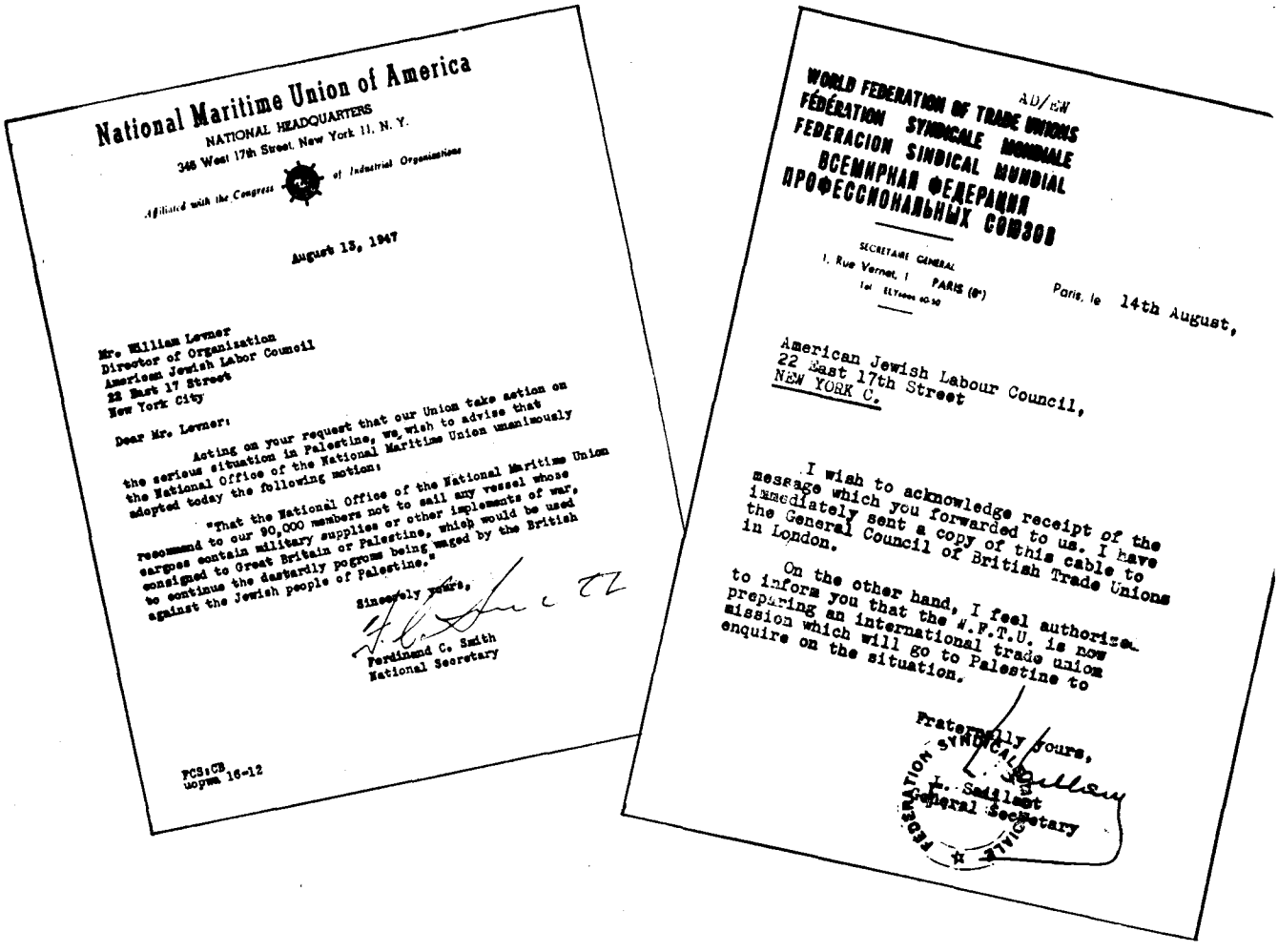
FIORELLO H. LAGUARDIA

- A Tribute by Henry Wallace
- An Intimate Portrait by M. R. Werner

15 CENTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thank you, Brothers...



National Maritime Union of America
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
346 West 17th Street New York 11, N. Y.
Affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations

August 13, 1947

Mr. William Lerner
Director of Organization
American Jewish Labor Council
22 East 17 Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Lerner:

Acting on your request that our Union take action on the serious situation in Palestine, we wish to advise that the National Office of the National Maritime Union adopted today the following motion:

"That the National Office of the National Maritime Union recommend to our 90,000 members not to sail any vessel whose cargoes contain military supplies or other implements of war, consigned to Great Britain or Palestine, which would be used to continue the dastardly pogroms being waged by the British against the Jewish people of Palestine."

Sincerely yours,

Ferdinand C. Smith
National Secretary

FCS:CB
opwa 16-12

AD/EM

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ
ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

SECRETARIAT GENERAL
1, Rue Vernet, 1 PARIS (8e)
Tel ELYsees 60-50

Paris, le 14th August,

American Jewish Labour Council,
22 East 17th Street
NEW YORK C.

I wish to acknowledge receipt of the message which you forwarded to us. I have immediately sent a copy of this cable to the General Council of British Trade Unions in London.

On the other hand, I feel authorized to inform you that the W.F.T.U. is now preparing an international trade union mission which will go to Palestine to enquire on the situation.

Fraternally yours,
SYNDICAL
L. Saillant
General Secretary

The National Maritime Union is one of the 150 labor organizations cooperating with us in our program and activities. We are currently engaged in nation-wide campaigns:

- *To outlaw anti-Semitic propaganda through legislation such as the Buckley Bill, HR 2848, now pending in Congress.*
- *To finance the rehabilitation of Jewish people in Europe.*
- *To help the Jewish people realize their national aspirations in Palestine.*

AMERICAN JEWISH LABOR COUNCIL
22 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Here is my contribution of $..... toward your work.

Please send me information about your activities in (check)

- ☐ *Combatting anti-Semitism*
- ☐ *Rebuilding Jewish life in Europe*
- ☐ *Supporting Jewish people in Palestine*

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

R

AMERICAN JEWISH LABOR COUNCIL

(partial list of cooperating organizations)

International Fur and Leather Workers Union; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; United Shoe Workers of America; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Locals 905 and 848; International Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; United Office and Professional Workers of America; American Communications Association; National Maritime Union of America; Transport Workers Union of America; United Automobile Workers of America, Locals 600 (Ford), 51 (Plymouth), 230 (Chrysler) and 259; International Jewelry Workers Union, Locals 1 and 5; United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America; United Furniture Workers of America; United Packinghouse Workers of America; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America; Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, Locals 1, 3, 164 and 579.

We solicit the help of men of good will in our efforts to serve the best interests of the Jewish people at home and abroad.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: *Henry A. Wallace*
PUBLISHER: *Michael Straight*
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: *W. D. Patterson*
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: *Bruce Bliven*

CONTENTS FOR SEPT. 29, 1947

3 Washington Wire
5 News in Focus
9 Meat Shortage
12 Henry Wallace
13 LaGuardia Portrait
17 Revolt in the Desert
22 Business
23 World Bank
27 Books in Review
32 Labor
33 Music
34 Theater
35 Radio
37 Movies
38 Press

MANAGING EDITOR: *Edd Johnson*
ARTICLES: *William Harlan Hale (Chief), Norman Grieser, Joseph Lyford, Richard Strouse, Theodore H. White, Thomas Whiteside*
STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: *Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Lew Frank Jr., Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Thomas Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Richard Watts Jr.*
WASHINGTON BUREAU: *William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman, Helen Fuller, Jan Hasbrouck, Graham Hovey, James R. Newman*
DEPARTMENTS: *Robert L. Hatch (Chief), George Mayberry (Books), Angus McDonald (Farm), Eva Putnam (Foreign Press), Willard Shelton (Labor), Shirley O'Hara (Movies), Charles Miller and Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Jane Bedell (United Nations)*
ART: *James Grunbaum (Acting Chief), Lynn Chase*
COPY EDITING: *Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Sally Howell, Ruth Tarcov*
PRODUCTION MANAGER: *Anthony J. Ballo*
RESEARCH: *Myriam Wilson (Chief), Elizabeth Bigler, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant*
LIBRARY: *Patricia Kuhnel (Chief), Emery Sibley*
TREASURER: *Daniel Mebane*
ADVERTISING MANAGER: *E. G. Wood*
CIRCULATION MANAGER: *Eric Shumway*

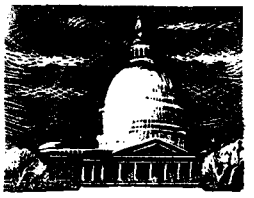
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1947, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

Washington Wire

School Bell for Harry

POOR Harry Truman. All the world's troubles are piled this week before the little man whose handkerchief protrudes in such neat quarter folds from his immaculate breast pocket. We think his leisurely return home, while the world ached for action, was pretty stupid.

Somebody with a sense of drama in the Truman circle might have urged him, if only for appearances' sake, to take a plane on the last leg of his trip, but no, the Truman entourage is singularly obtuse to such matters. And after all, fundamentally, can you blame Truman very much? All these questions, for which there are such conflicting answers! Does the schoolboy move back to classes with alacrity? The harsh-tongued bell has rung again for the President. This week he is back again in the thick of it.



As far back as the Moscow Conference, Bevin urged on Marshall the need for America taking over part, or all, of the British occupation costs in the German zone. This desire of the British is well known in Washington, and events have increased rather than diminished British pressure for the move. We should expect some decision along this line in the not distant future. The British, frankly, can't keep on footing the bill. Meanwhile Secretary of State Marshall has stated bluntly, in the President's absence, that Western Europe can't wait for aid till next year. It is unthinkable that he made this statement without Truman's advance knowledge, and now that Truman is back, active steps, presumably, will be taken.

IT looks as though we are going to have a high-pressure, voluntary rationing program, designed to cut meat consumption. The idea is that if the price of meat can be forced down sufficiently, the farmer won't have the same economic incentive to feed wheat, as well as corn, to his livestock. The scheme may work, and if the Administration really goes through with it (as is now confidently predicted), all men of good faith will certainly cooperate. The advocates of the plan here urge two principal points: the first, that this time the consumer can be urged to coöperate on the basis of direct, selfish interest in bringing down his own cost of living, let alone the international benefits; second, on the negative side, that there isn't any alternative to voluntary rationing anyway, because Congress won't consider compulsory controls.

THE week after the Taft-Hartley Act became law its two sponsors disagreed on what it meant. With this introduction, its curious record continues. Stassen has now come out for repeal of two provisions, the "I'm-not-a-Communist" oath for labor leaders, and the clause gagging the labor press in elections. Stassen says these provisions are "serious infringements of individual liberty." Well, that's fine!

What we find hard to understand, however, is why men like Stassen didn't attack provisions like these before. They were plainly visible before the law was enacted. They were branded in the Truman veto. Our old friend the New York *Times*, chief exponent of the Act, now calls the oath clause "one of the most preposterous bits of legislation ever enacted by Congress." Other newspapers, finding that the gag proposed for the labor press may be applied to them, too, are now slowly beginning to make their voices heard.

The real point is, of course, that hateful as these two clauses are, they are not the heart of the measure, which Truman rightly called "a clear threat to the successful working of our

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coming soon in New Republic!

A series of Special Articles on

ANTI-SEMITISM, 1947

Factual analysis of what is taking place in the United States today

BECAUSE the anti-Jewish question is becoming so serious throughout the country, NR had Editorial Director Bruce Bliven and staff analyze the facts regarding this complex problem. They have emerged with one of the most penetrating appraisals ever published in a weekly magazine! This series of articles will not hesitate to name names—point out, for example, which big firms practise anti-Semitism in their personnel policies. The articles will also answer such important questions as:

- How much further will anti-Semitism flare up if there's a depression?
- How many types of anti-Semitism exist and what are they?
- How is anti-Semitism organized? Who are the hate-mongers?
- What are the various anti-discrimination laws and how are they evaded?
- What are the Jewish "myths" and who started them? Who "sells" them?
- What is the anti-Semitic situation in American colleges?
- Which towns won't sell or rent real-estate to Jews?
- Why is this a GENTILE problem?
- What can be done about anti-Semitism? What do leading experts say about meeting it?

Don't miss a single word of this startling series which will appear exclusively in New Republic. Mail the coupon below today.

NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.
Send me 17 weeks of the New Republic at trial rate of $2 ☐; *or* 1 year for $6 ☐.
(Canadian & Foreign $2.35 for 17 weeks, $7 a year)
☐ Send bill ☐ Remittance enclosed

*Name*_____
*Address*_____
*City & Zone*_____
*State*_____ 9-29-47

New Republic

Paste on penny postcard and return now

democratic society." Labor is top dog now, and trade unions are sitting pretty, Taft-Hartley Act or not. It is when unemployment begins that the real inequity and oppression of this measure will be felt in provisions that have hardly been discussed yet in the daily press.

ONE of our agents, recently returned from New England, reports that most readers of sound, conservative journals there were kept in ignorance of the awful loss of face suffered by Senator Brewster (R, Maine) in his recent brushes with Howard Hughes and Elliott Roosevelt. The New England story was widely played up straight-faced, or so as to make Brewster look like the hero.

Our man also notes that the Boston transportation system, like New York City's, has just come under public ownership, following failure of private operation. It strengthens a sneaking hunch of ours that socialism, if it ever comes to the USA, won't come as the result of any ideological crusade, but simply to pick up the pieces that capitalism has left.

WE wonder if anybody shares our poisonous animus to the federal tax on margarine? It is our Minor Crusade No. 56. Here is a government that, while trying to bring down the cost of living, deliberately imposes a punitive tax on a standard food. Margarine is artificially colored. So is some butter. The two are almost equal in nutritional values and taste practically alike.

But at the behest of the dairy lobby, Congress has continued its discriminatory tax on margarine, while the price of butter soars to a dollar a pound. The legislative battle between the dairy lobby and the cottonseed lobby has been wavering in the balance for some time, however. Now, with less and less butter produced, at higher and higher prices, we rather think the next session of Congress will do something about repealing the nonsensical tax on margarine. And high time, too, by golly.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 13, ISSUE 1713, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1947

News in Focus

The Vishinsky-Marshall Row and Its Threat to the Future of the UN

by Michael Straight

THE United States Government has started the campaign to reorganize the United Nations without the USSR. The Soviet government has started the campaign to unite the peoples of the world against the United States.

There is no other explanation for the violence of the debate at the UN Assembly.

Those who loudly affirm that Marshall has at last cleared the way to progress for the UN; those who stoutly maintain that Vishinsky has eliminated the danger of war by exposing the warmongers; and those who cheerily assert that the debate has brought the conflicts into the open where they belong, and so made life easier, are all too hopeful. Both sides have forced the decision on all-important issues beyond present hope for compromise. If both sides hold fast—and given support they will—a final break into two worlds must come.

The American offensive

THE purpose of the United States Government in trying to reorganize the UN without the USSR is summed up, unconsciously but clearly, in an early paragraph of Marshall's speech. He said:

"A supreme effort is required from us all, if we are to succeed in breaking through the vicious circles of deepening political and economic crisis. That is why the United States has placed on the agenda the question of threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece."

Greece is an issue on which the US has refused compromise and has gone beyond the majority recommendation of the UN Balkan Commission, insisting on naming as guilty Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania. Our supreme effort, in that regard, is to organize the UN behind us on a stand which is important partly because the USSR must resist it.

Marshall continued by proposing a reorganization of the UN for the purpose of overpowering, rather than making unnecessary, Soviet intransigence.

Vishinsky's explosive reaction solidified support for Marshall, both in America and among other governments. It is hard to believe that this reaction was not foreseen and even welcomed by the State Department.

The Truman Doctrine was proclaimed without warning during the opening days of the Moscow Conference, and certainly contributed to its failure. The Marshall Plan, which might have unified Europe, was also issued without consultation with the USSR. Once again the proposals made by Marshall to the UN Assembly were prepared secretly by the State Department's Office of Special Political Affairs and sprung without warning on the Assembly.

The Truman Doctrine ignored the UN and the needs of all peoples. The Marshall Plan ignored the UN but undertook to meet these needs. The UN continued to command the loyalty of Americans, and so these new proposals may prove historically to be the means of using the symbol of the UN to organize our alliance against the USSR.

The Soviet counterattack

CERTAINLY the Soviet government interpreted Marshall's speech as a call to drive the USSR from the UN. The first half of Vishinsky's speech, clearly prepared in advance, was well reasoned and temperate. The last half, inaccurate, overdrawn, and written after Marshall's speech, holds out no prospect of reconciliation.

Vishinsky was careful not to charge the US Government with promoting war. But to the Soviet government, the industrial and financial monopolies which control America through their tools, the radio, the press, the movies, the political parties and the military leaders, "are ready to plunge humanity into a new world war." Vishinsky concedes that because America is a political democracy, these groups must win the people before war is declared. He mentions, in passing, that a minority of Americans are opposed to war. But to Vishinsky this minority is small, and the US is clearly committed to a course of provoking war.

Vishinsky's rejection of the hope of coöperation with present-day America is made more final by his analysis of

Home Is the Sailor

PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN is back in Washington safe and sound as any of us. Despite his harrowing experience aboard the USS *Missouri*, when he narrowly averted an international catastrophe by ordering James V. Forrestal to be sworn in right away as Secretary of Defense, the President appears in the best of spirits.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARSHALL

the reasons for our drive to war. To Vishinsky war is the only means by which reaction in America can hope to "remove the approaching menace of collapse and loss of profits."

Vishinsky no longer tries to understand and work with American democracy. He scorns "countries which consider themselves to be democratic and at the same time allow war propaganda and poisoning of public opinion." The speech ends with the Soviet resolutions calling on the UN to declare that "tolerance" of war propaganda is a violation of the UN Charter and to urge all governments "on pain of criminal punishment to prohibit war propaganda in any form." Even if these resolutions should be accepted by the UN, they could never be enforced in the US, and action by the UN against the US would follow. But agreement within the UN is clearly not Vishinsky's aim.

Almost no mention is made by Vishinsky of the nations aligned with America. Turkey is denounced, but not France or China. Even in Britain, the obvious, almost inescapable target of Ernest Bevin is ignored. Before the British people only the political carcasses of Winston Churchill and his son are flayed by Vishinsky.

All this suggests that the State Department's dismissal of Vishinsky's speech as one made for home consumption is completely and dangerously wrong.

The speech is a call for a mobilization of all peoples against the United States. And in Western Europe and Asia, for all the fatuous complacency of our government and our press, the call will find a deep response among millions who today are increasingly resentful of America's refusal to understand what is dying in the world, and what is being born.

The truth

I SPOKE to a delegate of an Eastern European country at the UN when the debate was over. He said wearily: "If only someone could tell both governments the truth."

The truth is, of course, that on the issues on which all nations are being forced to take sides—atomic energy, disarmament, regional conflicts and reorganization of the UN—neither the United States nor the Soviet Union has an exclusive claim to being in the right.

The issue of atomic energy

THE control of atomic energy is a major issue on which a break in the UN is imminent. Our government insists that our security would be threatened if we gave up our monopoly of atomic weapons before there is world control. The Soviet government insists that its security is threatened by our monopoly during the indefinite period—the length of which we determine—in which controls are established.

Marshall asserts that the USSR and Poland have consistently formed an obstructionist minority on the Atomic Energy Commission. Vishinsky replies quite rightly that the majority of the commission has favored destruction of the existing stock of atomic bombs, and that America's continued production of bombs has made progress almost impossible. The Soviet proposal to outlaw atomic weapons has been rejected by the US because it was in itself not enough. But it was never advanced as more than a first step. Vishinsky describes the majority on the Atomic Energy Commission as one "on whose benevolent attitude the Soviet Union cannot count." In view of the present state of mind of Secretary Forrestal and others in the Truman cabinet, he is right.

The Soviet government proposes simply that the UN reaffirm the necessity of disarmament in atomic weapons. But Marshall implies that unless the American position is accepted, our offer to share our knowledge will be withdrawn and hope of world control of atomic energy will be abandoned. That is the prospect for 1948.

VISHINSKY

The issue of regional conflicts

THE UN is further threatened by regional conflicts. The USSR is pressing for action in Africa, Indonesia and Spain and we are resisting action. In the Balkans and Korea the reverse is true. Both America and the USSR have acted outside the UN. Where it is called in, the UN is weakened by the lack of agreement on first principles. It is probable that the USSR will boycott any Balkan Commission established by the Assembly. Then, since the observers sent by the Assembly will lack the protection of the Security Council, they may be protected by Greek, American, British and Western European troops, acting independently of the Security Council.

The issue of UN reorganization

MARSHALL'S proposals to reorganize the UN may end in its destruction as a world organization. His case is none the less strong. Any organization in which a minority thwarts the majority must reorganize or perish. In the UN, the USSR has reduced the Security Council to paralysis by its use of the veto, and has refused to accept the majority verdict. Who is Vishinsky to declare that "the report of the majority of the commission on the Greek question is full of contradictions and gross exaggerations which deprive those conclusions of any importance whatsoever?"

Marshall calls for the modification of the veto—by possible amendment

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Charter next year, and amendment by the Security Council of its rules meanwhile. His legal case is weak. Britain and France are not really supporting America. But if the US chooses to denounce the declaration made on the veto at San Francisco, we can undertake to rewrite the rules of the Security Council by a majority vote, and so join the issue.

Marshall further proposes to shift power within the UN. The Security Council was founded on the principle of unanimity of its members. The Assembly was based on a majority vote. The Security Council was given a position of predominance over the Assembly, by the Charter, in the maintenance of peace. One good reason for this was the inherent weakness of a body in which vast Russia and tiny Luxembourg have equal representation, and a bloc of Latin American and Moslem states hold the majority of votes.

The collapse of Allied unity has destroyed the meaning of the principle of unanimity. Rather than seeking to restore Allied unity, or calling for an Assembly with weighted representation, Marshall proposes to give ascendency to the present Assembly, dominated by Britain and America, with its provisions for majority rule. He revives in his speech a proposal made by the Netherlands two years ago, for a standing committee of the Assembly to consider conflicts threatening the UN. Vishinsky called that "a scheme to substitute and by-pass the Security Council." So it is. And if the Assembly establishes the committee, the USSR may well refuse to serve on it.

At present the committee, since it is derived from the Assembly, could discuss, but do nothing about, issues on the agenda of the Security Council. That restricts its power. But if a majority of the Security Council rewrites the Council's rules, so that a majority can remove items from its agenda, then the committee would come to life. It would still have no control over the armed forces at the UN which are governed by the Security Council. But if the members of the committee were to place their armed forces at its disposal, then it could become the nucleus of a new United Nations, a UN without the USSR or Eastern Europe.

The way out

TECHNICALLY, it would be possible to form and perhaps to maintain a kind of UN without the USSR and Eastern Europe. But it would be a different instrument from the one so bravely planned at Yalta and San Francisco. It would be frankly a power alliance against the Soviet Union.

The League of Nations was weakened by the absence of the US. But it commanded, for a while, the allegiance of many nations friendly to us which participated in the League with the knowledge that their participation would not jeopardize their friendship with us. Nothing of that kind would be possible to members of an anti-Russian UN.

The sure way to lose the peace is to transform the UN into an anti-Soviet bloc. The only way the peace can be restored is in the spirit demanded by the delegates of India, France, Venezuela and many other nations. That is not our decision alone, but we can help.

Vishinsky has made grave charges against many leaders of American thought—that they seek war. Some do. Others, just as dangerous, seek to guide our foreign policies in a spirit of blind hatred and belligerence that risks war.

Our government could dissociate itself from the councils of the fabricators of warlike policies. It could renounce war, could declare war unthinkable, and proceed with a course of action that demonstrated its unshakable will for peace. It could propose a five-power conference in the spirit of peace-making to resolve our mounting conflicts before they overwhelm us.

Left to itself, however, does anyone think the Truman Administration could reverse itself and start to do the things that are necessary to achieve a world climate in which there could be peace?

Toward Severance of Trade Relations

MALCOLM HOBBS, ONA correspondent, reports from Washington that US cabinet officials are seriously considering placing all exports to the Soviet Union under specific licensing controls, a step which would amount to breaking off normal economic relations.

Such controls now exist only on trade with Spain. Before Pearl Harbor, Secretary of State Cordell Hull refused to impose them on oil and scrap shipments to Japan because he thought the step would lead to war. Officials in Washington confirm without comment that the Soviet ban is under active consideration. No act of Congress would be required, since the State Department already has the right to license exports.

Soviet trade agents in this country apparently have known for a month what was in the wind. New contracts submitted to exporters by Amtorg, the Soviet Purchasing Commission, contain an escape clause if an export license isn't granted at the time of shipment. Manufacturers of goods on Soviet specifications are refusing to sign, afraid of being stuck with the goods.

Words of the US Government plan leaked out at a foreign-trade meeting in New York. When one trader brought up to the possibility of overall controls, L. L. Horch of the Commerce Department said, "Comment on that at this time would be premature, but the suggestion contained in that query is being carefully reviewed in Washington."

Officials hint that the thing holding up the decision to impose the controls is the fear of shutting off imports from the USSR of such strategically valuable metals and minerals as manganese, chromium, platinum and palladium.

Inflationary Nudge

JUST at the time when the last thing US economy needs is a new inflationary push, a brake on consumer credits and instalment buying is about to be removed. November 1 is the expiration date for Regulation W, in effect since 1941, which makes charge

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accounts payable by the tenth of the second month after purchases, and sets a time limit on final settlements of deferred-payment purchases.

With the total of consumer credit at an all-time high (about $11 billion), economists and businessmen are worried about the effect of the expiration of Regulation W. Some of them are lining up support for a movement to get Congress, preferably at a special session, to prolong the regulation. The Commerce Department is exhorting merchants and lending institutions to use the "utmost caution" in liberalizing credit.

The UAW's Co-op

A FEW weeks ago, Local 400 of the United Automobile Workers, whose members work at the Ford plant in Highland Park, decided to do something about the high cost of groceries. They bought some staple, fast-moving items in large lots direct from wholesalers, and sold them to the membership at cost on Saturdays, using volunteer help. The saving was about 15 percent, and pretty soon the whole UAW wanted to get into the plan.

Last week the presidents of 40 locals, with a membership of well over 100,000, met in Detroit and decided to extend the scheme to their members in Detroit, Flint, Pontiac and Lansing. One dollar was to be sought from each member to provide a working fund.

Some of the results were interesting. A few wholesalers, especially those handling scarce items, were sticky; they wanted to protect their regular outlets. But most were glad to sell to the co-op. Local farmers offered to bring trucks to the halls and sell farm produce direct. Offers to supply the co-op with gasoline, oil, clothes and other items began to come in.

So far, all that is saved is the retailers' cut, which amounts, on the average, to 15 percent. But as plans are evolved to acquire warehouses and organize central buying, it may be possible to work out more advantageous large-scale deals.

It Takes All Kinds . . .

BERLIN plainclothes police may not be cracking the city's black market, but they are learning what Berliners carry in their handbags these days. In a spot check at a subway station, plainclothesmen discovered the following:

¶ A prim female secretary's satchel contained a dozen small, wormy apples, a copy of the Berlin shopgirls' newspaper, *Sie* (She), and a pair of old shoes with holes in the toes.

¶ A doctor's briefcase held a pound can of US coffee, a bar of laundry soap, a small bag of sugar, a pair of pajamas and a book by Nietzsche.

¶ A girl psychology student's bag contained a book by Freud, a sheaf of papers, one pear and, in a special compartment, a quantity of fresh manure (to fertilize the family vegetable garden).

¶ In a carpenter's bag was a small thermos, a Wehrmacht canteen cup and an empty bread tin.

¶ A toilet-equipment salesman's briefcase held five cartons of US cigarettes (worth three years' pay for the average worker), two pounds of US coffee, four packs of tobacco, 60 packets of razor blades, four tubes of toothpaste and an address book of clients.

Treasure Hunt

IN a quest for funds with which to provide immediate "stop-gap" relief to Europe, the State Department has tried all available sources with the exception of Congress without success. It now begins to look as if the only way the dollars could be got would be through a quick congressional grant—an unlikely eventuality. So before trying Congress as a last resort, State will continue to work on the following possibilities:

1. The Export-Import Bank, which still has some $300 million in uncommitted resources to lend. So far, Bank officials have sat tight within a charter that limits loans to those designed to increase US foreign trade.

2. The Commodity Credit Corporation. The CCC might conceivably be induced to purchase food for Europe with the $400-$500 million not needed currently to support farm prices.

3. Hidden European assets in the US. This possibility has been suggested by Undersecretary of State Robert A. Lovett. According to the Commerce Department, such assets, if converted to European aid, would total approximately $14,900 million.

4. The Allies' "pot of gold"—$250-$300 million in gold recovered from the Nazis, who built up the fund by looting their defeated enemies.

Exports and Prices

GOVERNMENT agencies investigating prices have released some simple figures which should effectively dispose of at least one falsity—the Hoover theory that prices are sky-high because we are sending too much food to Europe.

During the war, under the OPA, the US shipped considerably more food to Europe than it is now doing, yet prices remained comparatively low and stable. For example, 1944 foreign food shipments were nine percent of total food production; today they are going out at a rate of less than seven percent.

Department of Commerce officials admit that spiraling wheat prices can be blamed partly on European demand, but they point out that wheat is the only food we are shipping abroad in quantity. And wheat, they say, is not a major factor in affecting present domestic prices.

Prices of food products which the US is exporting only in small amounts have risen just as much as wheat. Meat (2.2 percent exported) has jumped 83 percent; butter (.4 percent exported) has climbed 29 percent. And corn (3.5 percent exported) has risen 28 percent.

That is the record. But the Administration fears that the facts may not be enough to reverse widespread acceptance of the Hoover theory. Already Congress, looking abroad for a scapegoat, is beginning to put more and more of the blame for our wild price spree on the appetites of hungry Europeans.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why Meat Costs So Much

THE *New Republic* set out to learn why meat prices are so high. Reliable correspondents reported that everyone connected with meat—from the range to the retail counter—said he wasn't to blame and couldn't do anything to relieve the consumers' suffering. They were all helpless, they said—the men who raise the beef cattle in the range country; the men who fatten the steers in the feeder-pen districts of the corn belt; the men who slaughter the animals, pack and wholesale the meat; and the men who sell the meat at retail in the Biggest City.

Our correspondents found that at each link in the chain of high prices, the blame was put on another link, starting with the cattlemen who blamed God, Who gave us a poor corn crop, ending with the retailer who blamed those foreigners who are taking the meat out of our mouths.

Everywhere along the line our correspondents found the the same uneasy pattern of prosperity and anxiety. Everyone was cashing in fast now, getting his while he could.

In the lush jungle of uncontrolled economy, our correspondents found fear amid the soaring profits, the fear which stalks dwellers in jungles everywhere and always, the fear that the very same lushness which today provides such rich fruits may tomorrow produce hidden dangers of which the jungle man is dimly but deeply aware.

Nearly all the men questioned by the correspondents said they would like to get prices down, but nearly all shied away from the idea of changing the jungle into a place of orderly controls and seasoned coöperation. Only the rarest exceptions would look with anything but horror at price controls. Many even refused to face the plain fact that poor crops and high prices were the result not of an act of God but of a man-made anarchy produced by the irresponsibles who fought controls and planning. Here and there, however, some were coming awake to the realization that fear would be with them and grow ever worse until the jungle of unrestrained competition was transformed into a planned economic society.

Here is what they are saying along the line:

On the Range

by Stuart Long

AUSTIN, TEXAS. – On the aspect of the beef situation that most concerns the consumer—prices—Texas ranchers are pretty well agreed. So long as feed prices stay up, they say, cattle prices won't come down. On the cause, the ranchers fall into two distinct categories: those who blame the government and will fight controls, and those who won't. And both feel that, while the going is good, they would be fools not to cash in and get what they can.

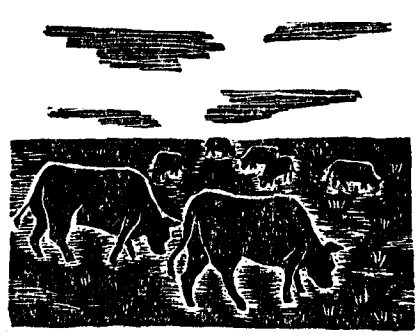
Miles Bivins, Amarillo rancher handling the operations of some 250,000 acres, puts the blame on the government and believes a return of controls would "ruin the whole outfit." High prices, he says, come from: (1) shortage of grain and consequent high feed prices; (2) government operations in grain for shipment overseas; (3) labor's demand for higher wages; (4) higher taxes.

On the other hand, W. D. Reiger of Midland, office manager for the Scarbauer Cattle Company, which operates 500 sections of ranches in western Texas, thinks that if prices don't start simmering down soon, some sort of control will be needed.

Business and profits, he admits, are the best ever. The percentage of profits on business done is about the same, but volume is way up. "We know," Reiger says, "that when a dollar is worth only 40 cents it's a bad situation, but we're just riding along with it."

The Scarbauer firm, like nearly all Texas ranchers, belongs to the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers' Association, which lobbied to end price control. But when ranchers talked over the situation at an association meeting in Midland this week, many echoed Reiger's views on controls.

"High feed prices breed high cattle prices, and it looks like cottonseed cake is going up some more," he says. "We're not rushing to market any longer, because we know that cattle prices will hold. We're selling normally when our stuff gets ready to market. Our fall calves are already sold at high prices, and we'll deliver at those prices."



West Texas has had a dry year, and with the grass poor, the ranchers are buying cottonseed cake at an all-time high of $90 a ton to feed this winter. (They call it "Grape Nuts," and say it costs as much as breakfast food.)

Stocks of cattle are low because of the dry weather, so there is no increased production from west Texas to break the price. Some west Texas cattle are fattened in Kansas feed lots before they go to market, mostly by cattle-feeders who buy lean grass-cattle cheap, fatten them, and then market them at Kansas City. The shortage in this area is heightened by the blockade against Mexican cattle because of the hoof-and-mouth disease in Mexico.

The Scarbauer ranches run Herefords, usually called Whitefaces—strictly beef cattle. They raise no feed of their own, and therefore must buy cake when grass is short. Like most ranchers, Reiger won't say how many cattle they are running now.

Bivins contends the cattleman isn't making any more money at today's high prices than he did at pre-inflation prices, because rising costs eat up the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

difference. The biggest threat right now, he believes, is another drought.

"We haven't had any rain out here since the latter part of June, and it's too dry to carry the usual number of cattle on the range," he points out. "The government had better look into the situation here at home, instead of in Europe, because a drought will bring on a real shortage of beef."

As for any suggestion that the American people eat less, the Texas rancher says the "cattleman certainly wouldn't like any advice to eat less beef."

Bivins expects a slight drop in cattle prices in the immediate future because of the marketing of light cattle in the face of the drought and feed shortage, but thinks that after another 30 days prices will go higher than ever.

And that price level will continue indefinitely, he believes, unless something is done about the basic causes—and the cattleman can't do it. He says it's up to the government to stop shipping grain, stop letting labor get wage increases, and cut taxes.

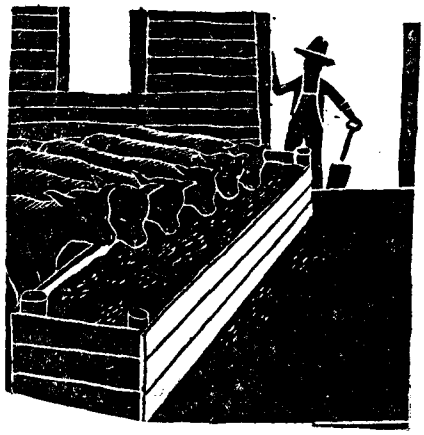
At the Feed Bin

by Donald E. Brown

DES MOINES, IOWA.—The cattle-feeders out this way would like to fatten more steers for the consumers and—not incidentally—put more coin in their pockets, but they say they can't: prices of the animals and of the feed to put in their bellies are too high. You can drive for many a mile along State Highway 64 in the heart of Iowa's corn belt and not find a single herd of beef cattle.

The cattle-feeders aren't losing any money—far from it; they're doing nicely. But caution is the watchword because many of the men who have cut down their herds are scared stiff of going broke as their fathers did in the slump after the First World War. And the worst corn crop in years has the average Iowa feeder in a tizzy.

You can drive into a lot of farmyards, find the farmer gloomily looking over his drought-parched cornfield, and hear him say, "Nope, don't believe



we'll feed any cattle this fall." Near Dallas Center, farmer Tom Mash said, "Feedin' cattle's too big a gamble. Why, just the other day I went to town for a load of corn and couldn't find any—not even at $2.50 a bushel. To get feed for my 26 milk cows, I have to buy oats at $1.20."

With Wednesday-night cream checks tucked away in their pockets, three farmers sat in front of Buddy's Produce Station at Minburn the other day and blamed the whole thing on the high price of feed cattle and the shortage of corn—48 percent less than last year. All agreed that bitter memories of the first postwar period have led to deep cuts in feeding plans.

"You're playing with dynamite when you pay $300 a head for feeders," warned Howard Hill, a progressive young farmer who is state vice-president of the Iowa Farm Bureau. Overall-clad Floyd Burkett said he was feeding only 40 steers this fall, compared with 60 in other years. His neighbor, Paul Goldsberry, talked about the debacle of the twenties.

Hill, who farms more than 800 acres with his brother-in-law, said they will feed only 100 cattle this year as compared to the usual 300. Almost half their 240 acres of corn will be cut up for silage. Precious grain will be conserved in every way possible and, at $25 a ton, hay will be apportioned cautiously.

For the cattle-feeder, nothing is cheap. From the time he buys his feeding stock in competition with packers who are paying inflated prices for grass-fed cattle fresh off the range, the farmer faces one financial hazard after another. A tight feed situation promises to become worse. Even at dollar-an-hour wages, farm labor is hard to obtain in many communities.

There's another reason why fewer cattle will be fed. Hill told his neighbors, "I'm convinced we owe it to the rest of the world to cut our cattle feeding to the very minimum. It's a lot more important that we send grain to starving Europeans than beefsteaks to New York night clubs."

In the Stockyards

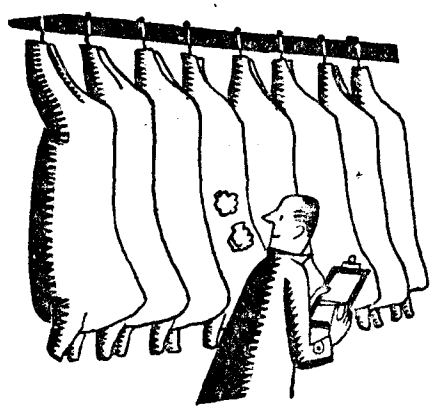
by Robert Schwartz

CHICAGO.—The big meat packers say the high price of beef isn't their fault. Spokesmen for the huge industry—the total investment of the "big four" is the neat trifle of $584.9 million—insist that it's caught in the middle of a squeeze play: they have to pay high prices for the cattle they slaughter and pack, and then sell their products against cutthroat competition. Thus far, no one of the leading companies has issued a profit statement for the first half of 1947, but the packers say, through Norman Draper (publicity man of the American Meat Institute), that they're not cashing in. The only profit, he insists, comes from the skillful use of by-products.

There's no doubt about the high price of cattle. Nor is there much doubt about the demand for meat. Beef, pork and mutton have become staples in the diet of a large portion of the 60 million US men and women now employed. Families whose incomes have gone up during the last couple of years are eating more meat, and the packers expect them to continue. White-collar families are spending a large percentage of their incomes on meat, and the high-income people ask no questions about prices. The biggest demand is for fresh meat, especially the better cuts.

On the claim of no, or low, profits for the packers, however, there's plenty of question. The United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, severest critics of the industry, snort at this kind of talk. They trot out figures to support the claim that the packers are "gouging"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



the public. In 1939, operating profits before taxes of the "big four"—Swift, Armour, Wilson and Cudahy—were $32.6 million. In 1946, operating profits before taxes were $122.1 million. Even after taxes, net income for these companies was up 153 percent over prewar. Thus, for each dollar invested these companies made a 21-percent profit. Higher dividends and stock "split-ups" indicate that the boys may really hit the jackpot in 1947.

Lyle Cooper, research director of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, says "no profit in meat" is strictly baloney, all done with a tricky, arbitrary system of bookkeeping which assigns a "high" cost to meat and a "low" cost to the by-products. Thus meat can be sold for high prices, and the consumer can still be told that the industry makes only a penny-a-pound profit on beef.

In this connection, the union is fond of citing a 1920 Federal Trade Commission report on the meat-packing industry: "The packers," says this report, "make use of the words 'cent,' 'fraction of a cent,' 'only a few cents' . . . in the knowledge that the public regards a 'cent' as a very small element of value. . . . This practice obscures the real facts as to profits. . . . A profit of a cent per unit, far from being a small profit, may be an exorbitant profit." And, says the union, what the FTC said 27 years ago is valid today.

In a recent editorial, the Chicago *Sun* asked, "Who fixes meat prices?" and went on to say that recent increases in the price of meat "suggest that the packers have more control over prices than they like to admit." The editorial pointed out that official US figures show that between June, 1946, and June, 1947, the price of steers in Chicago went up 52 percent. "But during the same period, the wholesale price of beef in New York rose 95 percent."

It points out that the OPA subsidy on beef amounted to about five cents a pound and says the spread between the price paid for steers and the wholesale price of beef in New York has gone up more than 11 cents a pound. "So one suspects there is something missing in the old story that the price of meat is determined exclusively by the combination of what consumers are willing to pay and farmers are willing to take. Another factor is what packers want to take in profits. . . ."

Just what the "big four" pricing policies are no one seems to know. American Meat Institute spokesmen will say only that the big packers have no pricing policies. More light may be shed on this, however, by the special grand-jury investigation which opened on September 22. Leading packers were summoned—and asked to bring their books with them.

While fighting to kill the OPA, the American Meat Institute freely predicted that more meat at lower prices would follow that agency's demise. Now they won't speculate. The American Meat Institute's Draper predicts a 15-percent increase in supply this fall and winter. As to prices, he won't predict, other than to say there should be a "moderate" decline. The pinch, however, will come next spring, when there are no cattle to send to market.

Over the Counter

by Thomas Whiteside

THE poor meat retailer is the fellow who takes the rap for high prices to the consumer, and it isn't his fault at all, says the well fed boss man of the New York State Association of Retail Meat Dealers. Not the man behind the store counter, but the farmers and the foreigners are to blame, according to Albert Wendel, generously built president of the association.

New York housewives didn't care whose fault it was. By the end of the week, the over-all cost of food had risen 40 percent over January, 1946, levels. At the corner butcher's even hamburger was whirling out of reach, the price up 83 percent since June, 1946. Careful shoppers had tried everything. They had turned to beef liver, and the price jumped 78.6 percent over June, 1946. Only one course remained: they began eating less.

The city was almost in a state of emergency. Israel Weinstein, the Commissioner of Health, was seriously worried over the effect on the health of children. "For months and in a steadily rising crescendo," he said, "mothers who bring their children to our public-health stations have complained that they simply can't afford to buy proper food for their youngsters."

The housewives stormed at the retailers, and Wendel, on behalf of the retailers, said only the foreigners and the farmers could help—his own men couldn't. "We want a moratorium on overseas shipments of meat until the situation here becomes stable," he said. (For an answer to Wendel on foreign food shipments, see page 8, "Exports and Prices.")

The fact is, of course, that the volume of meat sent to Europe totals only three percent of the US production, which now stands at the highest level of any peacetime year. Many housewives want controls put back, and a special meeting of the City Council was planned to consider a request to President Truman for a special session of Congress to restore price ceilings. But, said Wendel, "We don't want controls. But if we've got to have them, we want them to start on the farm, not with the retailer."

Drawings by Roy Doty

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Henry Wallace

Fiorello

THE most colorful, beloved figure in American politics has left the scene he loved so well.

He could have been of immense service to the peace-loving people of the world in the years ahead. We needed him. The progressive movement has suffered its most tragic loss since April 12 of 1945.

I first saw Fiorello LaGuardia 20 years ago when he was arguing for the farm bill on the floor of Congress against the reactionary Republicans who were stooges for the special interests. With his instinct for the dramatic, he had brought a loaf of bread to the floor of Congress, and to illustrate the profiteering of the bakers, he compressed and elongated that loaf as if it were an accordion, proclaiming all the while that bread was chiefly air.

Later on he introduced me to members of the progressive bloc which he had formed in Congress. I had come from Iowa to lobby for the farmers at that time and found LaGuardia one of our best friends. The fiery little Representative from New York City had a feeling of intense concern for the problems of workers and farmers which helped to make him the great public servant he was.

When I was Secretary of Agriculture, I found LaGuardia marvelous to work with. I from the farm, and he from the city, were allies, and eventually we became friends.

We helped to survey the various city markets. He was for anything that meant food at a cheaper price. He was for everything that could help the common man.

When he headed UNRRA, LaGuardia called on me to head a civilian drive for cash and for canned goods. For a time we worked at cross-purposes. It was a typical tough LaGuardia fight; but everything straightened out as soon as we agreed on an administrator in whom we both had confidence.

The last time we talked foreign policy was at Jo Davidson's New York studio six or seven months ago. We shared common feelings about our present dangerous drift toward war and about the domination of both parties by identical forces in American life.

Then came the sad news of his hospitalization. After that, mutual friends told me that LaGuardia wanted us to stump the country together in the fight for peace, just as soon as he was well again.

After he got back from the hospital, I went to see him at his home in Riverdale. He had lost 50 pounds, and the mark of death was on his face. He was in bed, but he had been up that morning working at his desk.

I was too shocked to stay more than a moment. In leaving I said, "Fiorello, we all think you have fought the good fight." He turned his face away and wept.

I knew then, on that hot August afternoon, that he realized he would never go out to fight again. He knew how terribly the world needed him, but his strength was gone.

THESE are fragmentary personal recollections of a very great citizen. They are written as I sit at a desk from which I can look out on the city he loved and on masses of people who loved him. They have their recollections of LaGuardia—of the fights he waged for them—and I would not try to express their emotions this day. I have my own and they are not easily turned into words.

On my desk is a letter from a Gold Star Mother down in Texas. It is a long letter, written on the day on which her son would have celebrated his twenty-first birthday. It is a letter urging us to wipe out political corruption and find the road to peace. She has enclosed a poem written by her 18-year-old son just before he was killed on Okinawa, June 13, 1945. It is entitled "A GI's Prayer," and part of it reads:

> We pray Thee, not that Thou wilt give
> Us glory, strength or life to live,
> But that at last when our job is done,
> Not just the war, but our cause is won.
>
> Our final prayer, is that You give
> The strength to those of us who live
> To fight, not just till the war is done,
> But to fight at home, till our cause is won.

Private First Class Charles Paul Bell and his buddies, then Roosevelt—and now LaGuardia. The fighters are taken from us when they are needed most, but the fight must go on. For the sake of these good men we must not consign the world to party hacks, Wall Street men, militarists and reactionaries.

These are the thoughts in my mind today as I remember a great, good, game, noble man.

Fiorello, we shall not let you down. H. W.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fiorello H. LaGuardia, An Intimate Portrait

by M. R. Werner

A friend who helped him in the preparation of his autobiography recounts some hitherto unpublished facts about a great American

WHEN one thinks of Fiorello LaGuardia—and a great many people in this and other nations will be thinking of him and missing him for many years—one thinks of a man of courageous integrity, impetuous righteousness, energetic ability and colorful passion. Those who disliked him—and being a man of little caution, he made his enemies—will perhaps recall his choleric quality and his inflexible convictions. He was sure he was right, and he was not always sure some other men were right.

Having had the opportunity to work closely with LaGuardia during the past six months on research for his projected autobiography, I have come to the conclusion from a study of his correspondence and from contact with him in his latter-day life that he had strong cause for suspicion. There were people he respected greatly and worked with closely, and they were usually the kind of men and women who have meant most to the progress of American society. He told me once that he never claimed to be an intimate of Franklin D. Roosevelt's, but that he had had the privilege of working with him on important things. The late Senators George W. Norris and Robert M. La Follette were men LaGuardia listened to and worked with. There were people whom he heartily despised and made a lot of trouble for. LaGuardia could seldom bring himself to believe that Herbert Hoover was correct in his acts or his motives, and he was one of the prime movers in the effort to get the late Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon, impeached.

Early in life LaGuardia developed his principles and ambitions, which went hand in hand throughout his great career. He told me that even as a boy he had wanted to be in Congress, and was determined to make it. He read the *Congressional Record* avidly, but he also read "Happy Hooligan," for there was nothing priggish about young LaGuardia. As a boy he was also impressed by the accounts of Tammany corruption in the nineties, printed in the New York *World* which he eagerly purchased at the news dealer's in Prescott, Arizona, where his father was stationed as an Army musician.

It is obvious from the papers in LaGuardia's files that he also wanted to be mayor of New York, where he was born and which he loved. He started running for Congress in 1914 and actually made it in 1916. He started running for mayor in 1921 and actually made it in 1933. In the interim there was war service as an aviator in Italy, where his parents were born, and before that, consular service in Austria-Hungary and an interpreter's job at Ellis Island to support himself while going through New York University Law School night courses.

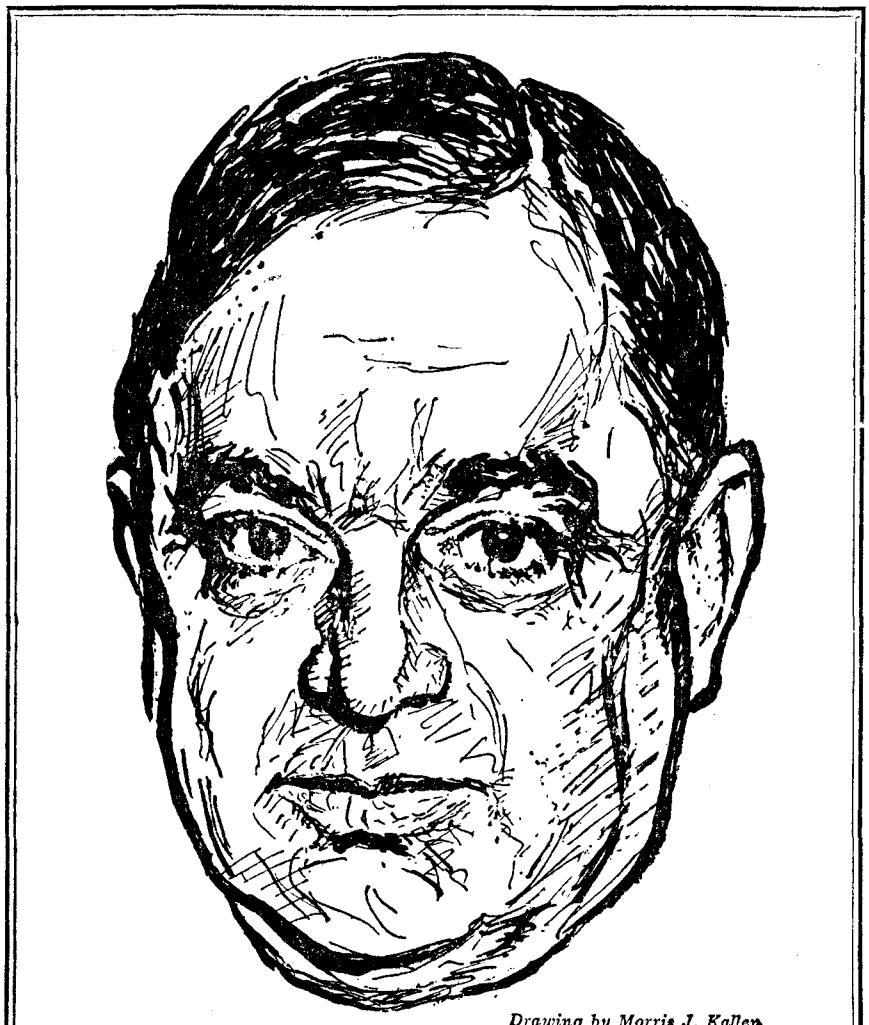
Although his other numerous activities were important, the two great phases of LaGuardia's career were his 14 years in the House of Representatives and his 12 years as mayor of New York. In Congress LaGuardia broke precedent at once. Freshmen congressmen were supposed to keep their mouths shut and vote the party line. He did neither. He was on his feet constantly offering amendments to party and other measures, and offering measures of his own. His first bill in 1917 was one providing the death penalty for contractors who in time of war supplied defective materials or food to the armed services, and heavy punishment for such crimes in time of peace. He never got over the fact that his own father died because he was fed some of the notorious condemned beef given the soldiers during the Spanish-American War. His measure was blocked, but it did serve warning to contractors during World War I that the name LaGuardia meant watchman.

A bold, angry speaker

DURING that war and immediately afterwards LaGuardia fought vigilantly against profiteers and against old-fashioned or incompetent Army, Navy, State Department, Treasury Department and other officials. His speeches on the floor of the House and his letters to cabinet officers were bold, angry and probing. A favorite line at the end of a letter of criticism to a public officer or private individual was: "Nothing in this letter is in any way confidential."

LaGuardia waged vigorous and successful battles against Prohibition as long as it existed, and energetically fought the high cost of living and the onslaughts of depression. In these battles he was both colorful and effective. His appearance on the floor of the House of Representatives with a gray and costly pork chop to dramatize the cost of living, and his manufacture of beer on the steps of the Capitol in defiance of the Prohibition law won laughter and approval throughout the nation. During the long battle in Congress to prevent private interests from obtaining Muscle Shoals and thereby stopping production of power at cheaper rates,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Drawing by Morris J. Kallen

LaGuardia was second only to Senator Norris in his opposition.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act curbing the right of courts to grant injunctions vitiating the right to strike will be the joint monument of both men despite the Taft-Hartley efforts to throw down that headstone of American labor progress. During boom times LaGuardia issued warnings of impending disaster, and when that disaster came during the 1930's, he wasted no time saying, "I told you so," but threw himself into the effort to get the recalcitrant Hoover Administration to act on behalf of the destitute.

Everybody's congressman

LAGUARDIA first represented New York's 14th Congressional District, which covers portions of the city's Lower East Side and Greenwich Village and which had always been a Tammany stronghold. By his excellent campaign tactics, he took it away from Tammany, and followed up this victory by winning the 20th Congressional District, which covered large stretches of Harlem. By virtue of his uncompromising and colorful integrity and ability, he soon became the only Congressman-at-Large the United States had ever had. Whenever he made an important speech on the floor of the House on Prohibition, relief of unemployment, opposition to a sales tax, flood control, Army, Navy and State Department plans, letters poured into his office from every part of the country. For the most part, they praised his attitude, but some correspondents were vituperative about his views and personality. Many people never bothered to write to their own Representative when they wanted action or had ideas, but wrote to LaGuardia instead, though they lived as far away from the East Side and Harlem as Oregon and Florida. He answered an incredible amount of this mail and read practically all of it. Some men and women wrote to denounce him because they assumed from his name that he was a "foreigner," and others loosely called him a Communist. At the time of his death he had a libel suit for $100,000 pending against the National Home and Property Owners' Foundation because of charges that he was a Communist, made when he was vigorously trying to prevent the repeal of rent-control laws.

Criticism of LaGuardia in Congress divided largely along class lines, especially when he opposed a national sales tax, one of the Hooverlike suggestions for making the poor poorer. The engraved stationery of brokers and bankers and the deckle-edged paper of retired men and women living on income from investments, contained the sharp criticism and the angry abuse, by and large. The ruled paper of the poor, worried about where their next batch of canned goods was coming from, usually contained the encouragement: "Go to it."

Couldn't stomach Tammany

WHEN LaGuardia was defeated for reëlection to Congress in 1932 by a close—some said fraudulent—vote during the angry surge that threw most Republicans out of Congress and put Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House, there were hundreds of letters from people all over the country who felt they had lost their only champion. LaGuardia was a Republican because when he first ran for Congress from New York he remembered those stories about the Lexow investigation which he had read as a boy in Arizona. He couldn't stomach Tammany then, and he never learned to do business with it or its satellites afterwards. Though formally a Republican, LaGuardia did not hesitate to leave his party reservation whenever his views were different from those who controlled that party —and they were often different. In 1924 when the angry Republicans refused him a renomination for Con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gress, he ran as an Independent Progressive and supported La Follette, of the Farmer-Labor Party, for President. He won, despite all efforts of the regulars to keep him away from Washington. Reluctant Republicans joined the Fusion movement in 1933 which elected LaGuardia mayor.

New York's best mayor

EVEN some of his enemies will admit to you that Fiorello LaGuardia made the most efficient and most effective mayor in New York's entire history. Some people thought he shouldn't have gone to so many fires, and some resented his quickness to anger, but nobody can deny that he changed the physical face of New York—a job that had been neglected under corrupt or weak previous administrations—and that he reorganized the machinery of government for New York City so that it can run smoothly, provided the will of his successors is halfway as powerful as his own.

As mayor, LaGuardia's main characteristics were his absolute refusal to play politics and his constant attention to the most minute details of the government and the needs of New York's 7.5 million people. A few days after his election in November, 1933—and it had not been easy to put him in over the opposition of the Tammany machine of Manhattan, with its allies in Brooklyn, the Bronx and Queens—a meeting was held in the Yale Club.

Many loyal Fusion workers were present. LaGuardia briefly thanked them for their efforts and then said: "I don't owe you a thing, and you're not going to get a thing. I welcome your support and your help, but you're not going to get any favors."

Soon after he took over a bankrupt city in January, 1934, top Republican leaders came to see him with their suggestions for heads of departments and other posts. LaGuardia reminded them that he had said he was going to run a "non-political, non-partisan administration." "Oh, yes, but that was campaign talk," they said genially. But they left the City Hall in a glum mood. LaGuardia, they were astounded to learn, meant every word he had said to his constituents.

I know that this "non-political, non-partisan-administration" tenet was no mere slogan with him but the basis of his faith in his ability to give good government. He told me that the reason John Purroy Mitchel and William Jay Gaynor, both of whom he greatly admired, had not succeeded completely as mayors was that they gave politicians something. Some people have maintained that LaGuardia himself built a personal political machine.

There is no evidence for that belief. He knew how to play politics, but he was never a political boss, or even a political leader. He built excellent machinery for getting elected each time he ran for Congress or for mayor, but that machinery was stored without oil until the next election, when the rust was rubbed off and the process started all over again. Thousands of enthusiastic citizens always offered their services to help run the LaGuardia election machinery.

Always on the job

IN his close attention to the details of the office of mayor of New York, recognized as the most wearing job in the country next to that of President of the United States, LaGuardia amazed friends and foes. He worked long hours at his desk, continued to work while riding in his car to and from his office, chased around checking up on city departments, helped to construct and plan city improvements and developments, read most of the complaints that citizens had, and was frequently critical of his own associates and the press when he felt they did not appreciate what he was trying to do or were not helping him to do it.

His attention to detail sometimes made me think of a small shopkeeper who emerges from the back of the store whenever he hears the tinkle of the bell attached to the door, and seems to be saying: "I'm here. What do you want?" And yet from watching him at work even during the last months of his life when he was in ill health, I got the impression of the most effective executive I had ever seen in action. He was deadly in his earnestness, brusque in his demands and never satisfied with his own results. Whenever he wrote an article, he was sure it wasn't good enough, and he fussed with it until the last possible moment in an effort to make it better. But he had to an extraordinary degree the ability to make up his mind quickly and the instinct for the side of a controversy he was going to regard as the right side.

"Heil FDR!"

LAGUARDIA was by instinct and reason basically against all forms of intolerance. He hated people who hated other people because of the color of their skins or the nature of their religion. When he suggested that Hitler be put in a chamber of horrors at the World's Fair as a specimen of a brown-shirted fanatic, he created an international incident. There was an uproar from Nazis and their sympathizers throughout the world.

LaGuardia told me that soon after this incident he had an appointment with President Roosevelt to talk about other matters, and when he arrived at the White House the reporters gathered around him and one of them said: "Now, you're going to catch it, Mr. Mayor, aren't you?" LaGuardia waved them aside and went into the President's office.

As he entered, Roosevelt raised his arm in the Hitler salute, grinned and said: "Heil, Fiorello!" LaGuardia raised his hand in a similar salute and answered, "Heil, Franklin!" That was all that was said about the incident between the two men as they got down to more pressing domestic problems.

Later that day LaGuardia met Secretary of State Cordell Hull at luncheon. Hull looked at him and said dryly: "Either you owe me a box of cigars or I owe you one."

"Why?" asked LaGuardia.

"Because you said what I wanted to say," the Secretary of State replied.

I remember the day President Truman's speech proclaiming what was to become the Truman Doctrine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

came over the news ticker LaGuardia had installed in his offices on the fiftieth floor of the RCA Building for use in his broadcasts and articles.

No use for Truman Doctrine

I WENT into his office to tell him the speech was coming over and stayed there while he carefully read the complete speech, glaring intently at the long, yellow sheets of news-agency copy through his heavy, horn-rimmed glasses. When he was finished, he turned quickly to me, and his sharp brown eyes were bright. "I'm not going to get on that bandwagon," he said and looked around his office truculently. "Alma!" he shouted for the girl who took down his speeches and articles. Then he got up from his desk and walked up and down his office dictating, gesturing and sometimes looking over at me for approval.

LaGuardia, standing occasionally on tiptoe to emphasize a point, and sometimes putting a finger and thumb of his delicate hands together to help himself on, dictated a criticism of Turkey's part in the First World War as an enemy of the Allied cause and her canny neutrality in the war against fascism. He expressed the strong view that it was not our business to back factions in Greece or help set up military dictatorships there or anywhere else. The article he wrote appeared later that week in *PM*, and meanwhile he resisted strenuous efforts to make him go along with the government on lines he did not believe would lead to the promotion of peace and security.

I nodded to indicate I was with him as he went along dictating that article, and waited until he had finished to express agreement, for LaGuardia's ideas came in such a flow that one instinctively refrained from stopping him in midstream. He liked a sympathetic audience when he was working, and his best writing had the quality of controlled oratory.

What made him such a good public speaker was that he was deeply sincere about whatever subject he was discussing, and a great actor in his ability to make his sincerity felt. He told me that he had seldom written out a speech in advance when he talked on the floor of the House, merely taking with him the notes, statistics and reports he needed. He wrote out his broadcasts, but he was as likely as not to change them in mid-air. He liked fun, and realized perfectly when he was putting over a good joke in public. His speeches and radio talks managed to be intimate and at the same time profound.

For all the publicity and acclaim which LaGuardia received and courted, he was a singularly modest man. He never believed, for example, that people would be particularly interested in reading his autobiography, and at lunch one day he told the publisher: "You've bought a lemon." I remember his picking up a telephone one day and saying to a man from whom he was seeking information for a radio broadcast: "Dr. Brown, my name's LaGuardia. I don't know whether you remember me, but I met you a few years ago," and then going on to ask for what he wanted.

Of late months he had had a feeling that he was a forgotten man, and it was pathetic to watch his anxiety during the last weeks of his tragic illness to make himself heard on the issues of the times.

Fought for relief agency

AT the time of his death LaGuardia wanted more than anything else to see his own government carry out a Marshall Plan, but not a Truman Doctrine. He renewed his efforts, unsuccessful at the General Assembly of the United Nations last year, to provide an adequate relief agency to take the place of UNRRA, of which he had been such a useful director-general. It was the unwillingness of his own government to support a successor to UNRRA which would distribute relief without political strings that defeated LaGuardia's efforts out at Flushing Meadow and Lake Success last year. I heard him make his long, passionate plea, and I heard the dull, unconvincing, legalistic replies of the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom.

Allied with his relief interests during these last months were LaGuardia's efforts to convince people that something must be done about displaced persons everywhere. And he did not forget the displaced persons at home, for he fought hard for housing and rent controls, against increased transit fares and against loan sharks.

All right, he changed the name of Sixth Avenue to the Avenue of the Americas, and he asked children to peach on their fathers when they were betting on the horses. But millions of people will always admire him for his statement: "When I make a mistake, it's a beaut," and many more millions will realize more and more as the record of his great career unfolds, that he was creatively on their side in every important public issue, internationally, nationally and locally, from 1917 until 1947.

A Busy Life

FIORELLO HENRY LAGUARDIA: Born, December 11, 1882; died, September 20, 1947.

1901-04—Attached to the US Consulates at Trieste and Budapest.

1904-06—Consular agent at Fiume.

1907-10—Interpreter at Ellis Island.

1910—Entered private law practice.

1915-17—Deputy Attorney General for New York State.

1917—Commissioned Major in the US Air Force and commanded a bombing squadron in Italy during World War I.

1917-21—Served in the House of Representatives as a member of the 65th Congress.

1923-33—Served in the House as a member of the 68th to the 72nd Congresses, inclusive.

1929—Ran for Mayor of New York; defeated by James J. Walker.

1934-46—Mayor of New York (three terms).

1946—Served as Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, retiring in December on the termination of the organization.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Revolt in the Desert

by Harry Zinder

British bungling, unrelieved poverty and a surging desire for democracy have turned the Middle East against old-style imperialism

This is the first of a series of two articles on the pressures and politics underlying the rumbling tumult in the Middle East today.

AFTER more than three decades of political bungling by Britain, the Western powers have come suddenly alive to the smoldering situation in the area now commonly called the Middle East. Political reasoning throughout this period has been centered around the romance and color of the desert chieftains and the kings of Araby, the frankincense and myrrh of strange and exotic regions, but has paid little heed to the ferment of an amorphous mass of people slowly shaping themselves into an instrument and weapon of political strength. Most of the world has been content to allow England to move as she wished, and in her blundering she has aroused 50 to 60 million people to a potentially dangerous fanaticism.

The value or quality of this resurgence, hardened by two wars, had never been fully appreciated until the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council awoke to find their hot summer days punctuated by two riot-ridden problems straight out of the Middle East: Egypt and Palestine. The thrust and punch for the placing of these issues before the international bodies came as much from a surfeit of British bungling as from a natural but long dormant desire of the people—but not their statesmen—for radical changes in their governments.

Although the problems posed by this resurgence are not necessarily insoluble, the issues were much less difficult 34 years ago, when Britain first took over. In those years Britain blazed a trail of double-dealing and black-and-white diplomacy that brought only desperate enmity. The Syrians, Lebanese, Trans-Jordians, Iraqis and Palestinians have grown to share with most of the other people in the Middle East a violent hatred of the British. The wrangling and backbiting in the Security Council over the Egyptian case and Britain's uncompromising stand on the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine have only served to alienate the Middle East further from Britain and bring her political death much closer. In that death she carries with her the prestige and principles of the democratic world.

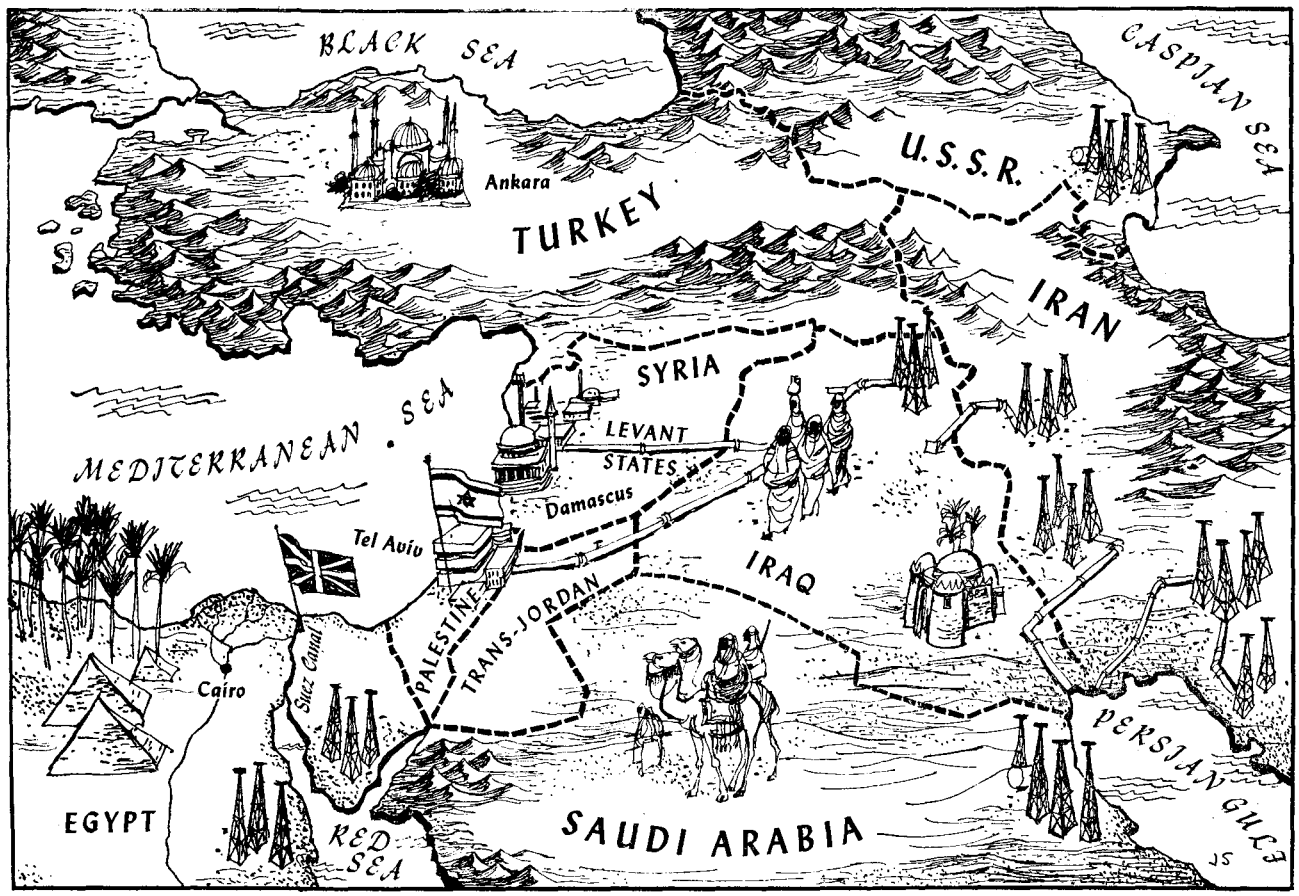
While many people consider Palestine the keystone of any Middle East policy because the Holy Land has been consistently and violently in the news, the Palestine problem, like many of the others in that area, takes a strong second place to Egypt. For it is in Egypt that Britain has solidly entrenched herself for imperial and strategic reasons, and the bitterness and increasing social consciousness that move like twin cyclones through the rest of the Middle East originate in Egypt. Their center is King Farouk's magnificent palace of Abdin, situated exactly in the center of Egypt's capital city of Cairo. Britain's "occupation" of Egypt for over 60 years and her more recent determination that evacuation of the country shall be slow and that it shall never include the Sudan, have given rise to a hatred that spills over into a serious xenophobia that includes Americans.

The resentment of Farouk against the British is of long duration and goes back to his revered father, the late King Fuad. Fuad, a hard, bitter man descended from an Albanian sergeant in the Ottoman army, relaxed on at least three occasions from his dispassionate rule of a people he cared little for, and wept unashamedly in public.

Two of these occasions had to do with Britain's heavy-handed dominance of Egyptian public affairs. The first time big fat tears coursed down the

Harry Zinder has covered the Middle East for 10 years, for the Associated Press and as a war correspondent and Bureau Chief for Time. *He has also written from North Africa, China, Burma and Europe.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



creases in Fuad's round face occurred when Egypt was drawing up a new charter to control her recently gained constitutional monarchy and the British bluntly removed from Fuad's title the phrase, "King of Sudan." Fuad's tears flowed copiously again when Britain traded the lovely oasis of Jarabub to the Italians over the vehement objections of the King and his people. (The third occasion was more personal. When young Farouk, the heir-apparent of Egypt, was elected Chief Boy Scout of Egypt, Fuad cried openly and publicly from the balcony of Abdin Palace before a massed throng of thousands of his subjects.)

First since King Tut

FUAD'S two public demonstrations of anti-British feeling did little to endear the British to the Egyptians and were symptomatic of a growing distrust and distaste for British rule in all of the countries of the Middle East. When Farouk became the first boy King of Egypt since the days of Tutankhamen, he vowed to avenge every one of his father's tears and restore Egypt's grandeur as an independent country. This meant getting the British out completely.

The notorious incident of February 4, 1942—which has never before been completely told or properly evaluated—was but a single example of British stubbornness and Egyptian reaction to it. The Prime Minister of Egypt at the time, Hussein Sirry Pasha, became involved over the question of recognition or non-recognition of Vichy France, and under pressure he was forced to resign.

Egypt's King Farouk promptly intimated that he was appointing his political adviser and friend of his early days as king, Aly Maher Pasha, as his new Prime Minister. The British, in turn, felt that Aly Maher was too pro-Axis for the democratic powers in 1942, a year when the British, the Americans and the Russians were fighting with their backs to the wall. According to a personage very close to Farouk, the British first requested, then demanded, and finally ordered that Aly Maher be cast aside for Nahas Pasha, who was more amenable to British suggestion. The King maintained that it was his job and no one else's to appoint the Prime Minister of his country.

When it became apparent that Farouk was not budging under the sledgehammer tactics of Sir Miles Lampson, Britain's Ambassador, the British used the type of force Dale Carnegie never recommended for influencing people and gaining friends. They surrounded lovely Abdin Palace in Cairo with New Zealand armored cars and tanks, sealed off all the streets, smashed in the palace gates, overpowered the palace guard and then allowed Sir Miles and Britain's General R. G. W. Stone to enter the King's palace through a British guard of honor.

Maniacal monarch

THESE two diplomats bumped through a dozen aides (who had their pistols drawn), stomped into Farouk's ornate, second-story study and presented him with an ultimatum: he must appoint Nahas Pasha Prime Minister or abdicate. Sir Miles carefully pointed out that Farouk would be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shown every courtesy, that a plane was waiting to fly him and his family to South Africa and that, when the war was over, the British might be inclined to consider Farouk's return to his throne.

Farouk had no alternative. He warned Sir Miles that the British were interfering in the internal affairs of an independent country and that he, Sir Miles, would regret the deed. Then Farouk appointed Nahas Pasha Prime Minister. As soon as the interview had concluded and some semblance of order had been restored (including the removal of the British from the palace grounds), Farouk charged through his beautiful palace, tearing down hangings and breaking rare china. He finally took out his fastest car and drove at breakneck speed to Inchass, his model farm near Ismailia, where he brooded for days over British perfidy. During this action the Queen and her aides looked down from the harem section on the scene much as Marie Antoinette might have at Versailles.

Too fast for knowledge

EGYPT'S lead in Arab affairs has been strongly demonstrated in the Arab League, now just two years old. The league is a loose collection of seven sovereign states, with Palestine observers. It is the result of considerable thinking along the lines of Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism, which so greatly moved the Arab world before World War I, and has since been uppermost in Arab minds as a defensive union for greater bargaining and greater prestige in the world. It received its strongest incentive from Anthony Eden's adroit statement in the House of Commons, when he was Foreign Secretary, that "England would look with favor on an Arab alliance, but it must come from the Arabs themselves." The league, however, has moved rapidly away from British influence. In fact, it has moved so rapidly in so many directions that few people know just where it stands on any major issue.

Arab potentates, fresh out of swaddling clothes as international diplomats and with only the tarnished example of Britain before them, fought like desert dogs over the intrigue-encrusted bone of power in the league. The sweetness and light that oozed from the first formative sessions in 1945 arose from the "joker" clause of the foundation charter which allowed all the states free and independent action if they disagreed or voted against any of the league resolutions. When the Anglo-American Commission of inquiry heard Arab League delegates at its Cairo session, the first meeting broke up in fraternal wrangling.

Leader of the unpleasant debate was a newcomer from an unexpected source: the bejeweled and bedaggered Crown Prince of Yemen, who majestically rose to his feet, his black eyes flashing, his wide, gem-studded belt glinting in the morning sun, and sputtered about Palestine in classic Arabic.

Despite the Crown Prince's dramatic performance, he is not one of the three great and individualistic figures who dominate the league: Farouk of Egypt, Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia and Abdullah of Trans-Jordan. These three fight their own battles inside and outside the league, but all recognize the potentialities of such a body in their struggles for recognition in the world. Farouk smashed through the league's council—the political body—a resolution that had unanimous approval and brought every single Arab state behind Egypt in her request that Britain evacuate at once and that she give up the Nile Valley when she gets out. The unanimity of this decision made it a cornerstone of league policy and set the league off in direct opposition to British occupation of any Arab state. It gave the league an anti-British bias that made Britain's diplomats scurry for cover.

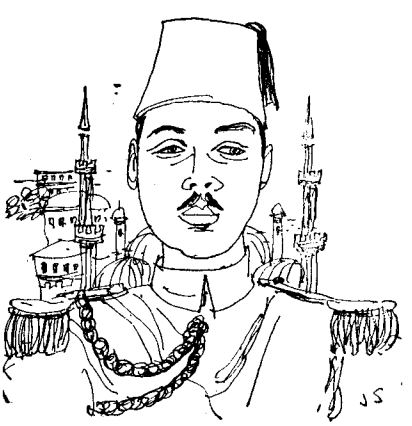
Ibn Saud needs the league less than do the heads of the other states, since his position as the outstanding Arab in the world cannot be touched so long as he lives. Financially independent, with a sea of oil coursing under the hot sands of his desert kingdom, his only desire is to be in on any decisions and to watch with somewhat jaundiced and aging eyes the maneuverings among his brother kings. His backtracking and swerving over the Palestine situation gave many of the Arab League diplomats grave concern and caused Farouk to call a special meeting of the kings and princes of Araby for discussion.

This super-assembly of Arab heads of state, meeting in 1946 at Farouk's lovely Inchass farm, drew up a number of resolutions on Palestine that have never been published. Not a single minute or resumé of that meeting has ever been made known, but it is no secret that it left everyone in a highly nervous state. Ibn Saud has no real reason to want any drastic changes in his regime, nor does he anticipate a crisis in which he will need what help the league can give him. But his participation in its activities is a factor of considerable strength.

Distorted guests

ABDULLAH, king of the tiny state of Trans-Jordan by virtue of British diplomacy, has reason to be grateful to the British, and he has shown his gratitude by constantly falling in with their plans and schemes. When the Arab League showed its most solid anti-British front, Abdullah muddied up the waters by publicizing his activities in favor of his Greater Syria plan for the Middle East, a union diametrically opposed to everything the Arab League stands for.

Greater Syria calls for a union of Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria, Iraq and the Lebanon under Abdullah's rule. This older brother of the late Feisal who, with Lawrence, controlled the Arab Revolt of 1915, has bided



FAROUK OF EGYPT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his time, nursing his grudge with an elephantine memory that goes back to the days when Lawrence labeled him "impetuous, unstable, full of practical jokes." Abdullah's humor has always had a bitter, human quality not unlike some of Thurber's cartoons; of late, however, he has concentrated almost completely on such serious considerations as his place in history.

Years ago, when Abdullah invited important personages to dinner at his palace, he put up a huge distorting mirror at the entrance hall and from one of the side rooms watched the discomfiture of his guests as they passed through the Circassian guards into the palace. On occasion he is said to have made his appearance at royal audiences on a miniature bike, riding wildly through the halls. This little man with the warm brown eyes, kindly face and boxer's body has aged well and he rides, shoots and sports with men 20 and 30 years younger. But he recognizes with desert fatalism approaching old age, and he is trying desperately to put his house in order.

Some years ago, Abdullah took a beautiful young Nubian girl as his wife and was shocked when his two hotheaded sons cornered him in his bedroom, brandished pistols and warned him against having any royal children by this black princess. He has been trying ever since to win back the affection and respect of his sons so as to pass on to them the scepter of the Hashimite family, which traces its lineage directly back to the Prophet Mohammed.

Drawings by Stefanelli

KING IBN SAUD

Fox-faced and boss-minded

BRITAIN'S blundering in the Middle East is due as much as anything else to a policy which is torn between two schools of thought. One school is that of thin, anemic-looking Sir Walter Smart, Oriental Minister in the British Embassy in Cairo; the other is that of big, burly Brigadier I. N. Clayton, who was formerly Arab adviser to the British Middle East Office and now is a roaming agent for the Foreign Office.

Smart is undoubtedly a key man in Britain's Middle East empire, and he maintains the theory that only by great shows of strength and by economic bribery and sustained imperialism can Britain continue to maintain her 10-fingered hold over this region. He has worked, and continues to work, against the state interest of each country for the further glory of Britain and for complete British control.

Smart has the face of a startled fox and the one-track mind of a determined political boss. He has wormed his way into strange circles through his marriage to one of the daughters of the Lebanese owner of *Al Mokattam*, the second largest Arabic daily published in Cairo. (The other daughter was married to the late George Antonius, and now Katie Antonius maintains a "salon" in Jerusalem to which correspondents, British generals and others favorable to the Arab cause in the Holy Land can gather in a delightful society atmosphere for drinks and hotheaded talk against the Zionists. It was in her salon that General Sir Evelyn Barker dreamed up his famed letter to the troops which imposed economic sanctions on the Jews, so that "we may hit them where it hurts.")

Clayton's policy differs widely from that of Smart. He heads the school of thought that studied with and under Lawrence and believes Britain can remain strongest in the Middle East if she works through friendly Arab governments rather than on top of them. He is the greatest well wisher of the Arab League and has worked closely with the league's secretary-general. (Clayton is the younger brother of Sir Gilbert Clayton, who was Lawrence's closest friend and responsible for Iraq's independence.)

Both Brigadier Clayton and Smart have their own men and agents scattered far and wide throughout the Middle East, each believing intensely that his particular master serves England best. One of Smart's better pupils is Stewart Perowne in Bagdad, a cynical, shrewd young man who so completely controls the country that many an Iraqi has viciously labeled the country "Perownia." The most compromising of the canards about "clearing it with Sidney" were childlike compared to the actual necessity of clearing it with Perowne in Bagdad.

Busy blonde spy

PROMINENT among Clayton's men is tough, cocky little Colonel Walter F. Stirling, in Aleppo, who during the war coördinated British espionage activities along the frontiers. It was his primary job to stop German agents from filtering into Allied-held Syria and the rest of the Middle East by way of the international train, the Taurus Express, which ran from neutral Istanbul to Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut. It was also part of his job to get British agents deep into Europe by the same route and to keep a watchful eye out for fat, buxom, once lusciously blonde Paula Koch, the photographer's assistant who became one of Nazidom's crack agents and who worked just across the Syrian frontier in a neutral Turkish village.

The wrangling and disputes among these experts over what is and what is not British policy cannot but be reflected in the indecisions and tomfooleries of the government. These have brought not only hatred of the British but a serious suspicion of Western intent. They have led Britain into a bankruptcy of prestige and moral values that will be felt for many years in the Arabs' approach to democratic thinking and ways of life.

The basic struggle among these peoples is the fight for physical exist-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence, for living conditions that are at least marginal, and it is this struggle which has actuated the resurgence of the masses into political action. It has been the keystone of their battles with the British, whom they accuse of maintaining feudal conditions in an attempt to retain their hold over the Middle East. Egypt, the strongest and richest of the states, is an outstanding example of great wealth centered in the hands of the few and poverty the fate of the many—a situation that, with the possible exception of Palestine, is repeated throughout the Middle East.

Coins and poverty

JUST a stone's throw from the opulence of Farouk's glamorous palace (Farouk once boasted that his stamp and coin collections were worth in the neighborhood of five million dollars) are some of the worst slums in the world. Crippled, blind and malformed children crowd narrow, dirty streets, awaiting the chance to rob a passing stranger. One author, writing a streamlined Baedeker for Middle East visitors, cautioned tourists always to walk in fours. Though the government has schools, the incentive for education is lacking, because these slum kids have little chance of making good in a profession. There are few Alger success stories in the Middle East, since the wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of a few hundred pashas, who control industry, agriculture and the lucrative import and export trades.

Women are still bound by the strictures of the Koran and keep to their homes in lonely seclusion, breeding more and more children they are unable to support. Their husbands, who earn from 20 to 30 cents a day as laborers, seek escape from their sorry condition in cafés, sipping mud-black coffee and listening to the wail of Arabic songs pouring out of the wide-mouthed funnels of pre-First World War phonographs. When these husbands move from place to place in search of work, they leave behind them wives and children who have no recourse in law for alimony, support or assistance.

The lack of organized relief for the hungry, ill fed and underprivileged has caused many a cabinet downfall, but the control of the government has never been allowed to pass into any hands that were not true to British ideals and policy.

The three major factors in Middle East life—the hatred of the British now so universal in the area, the extreme poverty of the majority of the people and the resulting demand for freedom of action in their own countries—touch almost every aspect of politics there. Against that background, Syria and Lebanon's action in evicting the British, together with the French, can be understood. It also explains the widespread indignation over the oil diplomacy of the US State Department and lays in the dust any claim by the British that without their assistance communism would rage wildly through the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Harry Zinder's second article on Middle Eastern politics will appear in next week's New Republic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUSINESS: A New Feature by Harold Wolff

To old *NR* readers this is sort of hallowed ground. In these columns, before his conversion to a violent orthodoxy, John T. Flynn carried on for many years a running commentary on the world of business. At this time there is need for the kind of clear, keen analysis that was his forte. I hope that I can bring back to these pages an evaluation by liberal standards of what business is saying and doing.

To get down to cases, there is talk of drastic action to break the price spiral. This is the time to recall the arguments and the people that killed price control. Remember the pious optimists who swarmed down on Washington and, with the help of press and radio, soon had the whole country fretting under the OPA? The open sesame to a shiny postwar world was "the law of supply and demand."

Their siren song went something like this: Get rid of the long-haired bureaucrats and the communistic OPA, and business will give you more for less. Sure, prices will rise a little bit for a little while. But higher prices will mean higher profits. Then businessmen will increase production. Then more production will lower prices. And everyone will live happily ever after. But, it didn't work out that way.

As such, there is nothing wrong with the law of supply and demand. As a theoretical concept, it is a useful truism which tells what would happen in an ideal economy. It has been a favorite subject for Ph.D. theses, particularly as a gauge to measure how far reality deviates from the world of economic abstractions.

Only under certain conditions could things work out the way the anti-OPA lobbyists promised. At a given moment demand and supply will set the price at which the available supply of a commodity will be bought. And if the supply is short, relative to the existing demand, then prices would be forced up. So far, the boys were right. And profits would go up, too. Right again.

But only under certain rare conditions will the higher prices and profits produce an increase in the supply and a lowering of prices. For one thing, businessmen must feel that the higher prices and profits indicate a lasting increase in demand, and not just a temporary shortage. They must also be reasonably sure that they can get the increased facilities soon, before the demand may have dissipated.

Otherwise, as any student in freshman economics knows, businessmen are not willing or able to increase production, and prices will just keep on spiraling upward. In fact, that is what inflation means: an increase in prices not matched by increased production.

Let no one be in doubt about this: Those who urged taking the lid off prices knew that prices and profits would skyrocket. And they knew, too, how willing or able they would be to increase production and stem the rise. Let's look at some cases.

UNDER OPA subsidies, at the end of the war we were paying farmers an average of $3.79 a hundred pounds for milk. In 1945 they produced a record 125 billion pounds. Then the dairy companies sent their economists to plead and promise, and the OPA ceiling on milk was killed. The price paid to farmers soared to $4.31 a hundred. Did that rise produce an increase in milk? It did not. In 1946 production was off about three billion pounds. We had less milk to drink, and we paid a lot more for it. And don't let anyone tell you that foreign purchases account for it. We don't export milk.

The explanation is simple. Dairy farmers don't obey the "law" of supply and demand. They never have, and every dairy economist who sat in on the OPA hearings knew it. Back in the pre-depression days milk sold for around $2.50 a hundredweight. In 1932 and 1933 it dropped to just half that price. Now, the "law" says that a drop in price is supposed to produce a curtailment of the supply. Did it? Dairy farmers produced eight billion pounds more milk at the lower price.

What determines the quantity of milk is the number of cows and the amount of feed. The feed is largely a matter of weather. The cow population increases and decreases in response to complicated laws of its own. At the very moment when the dairy interests were promising an increased milk supply if price control was lifted, they knew that for more than a year, the number of milk cows had been dropping steadily. And they knew it would take a biological miracle and at least two years to get more milk-giving cows. And even then, someone would have to persuade the dairy farmer that the bottom would not fall out of the milk market the way it did after the last war.

IN the same vein, *Business Week* recently observed: "The law of supply and demand is not working as it is supposed to," and cited the shoe industry as an example. Shoe manufacturers have no confidence that the present market will hold up, so, this spring, despite high profits, instead of lowering prices and sustaining or increasing production, they cut their output. In the first six months of this year they produced 83.9 million fewer pairs than last year. By thus curtailing production they were able to prevent any downward pressure on prices. In fact, by nursing along the scarcity, they were able to raise wholesale prices from an average of $2.84 to $3.78 per pair—or 33 1/3 percent. Again supply and demand had failed the prophets of prosperity.

Finally, steel is an example of what happens in the crucial heavy-goods industries. Last week Benjamin F. Fairless of US Steel and Eugene G. Grace of Bethlehem promised a Senate committee that in two years there would be a balance of supply and demand. But Fairless pointed out that it would

(*Continued on page 39*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bigger Than They Thought

by Norman Grieser

World Bank officials, watching Europe's economic crisis, say, "We can help, but we can't save the world alone"

THE New York offices of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—popularly known as the World Bank—are located in the tall-building district of a world which someone once observed "can not exist half skyscraper and half rubble." You take a Seventh Avenue subway to the northern end of the Wall Street area, climb the stairs, cross lower Broadway and turn down Liberty Street, an 18-foot alleyway between billion-dollar granite and limestone cliffs.

On the way you pass the Guaranty Trust Company (total resources, $2.8 billion), the Mutual Life Insurance Company (assets, $1.9 billion) and the Wall Street Liquor Corporation, currently displaying "Virginia Gentleman, Straight Bourbon Whiskey, 4 years old, Full Quart $5.20" in its show window

Number 33 Liberty Street is a square, buff-stone building which looks like a Harvard architect's idea of a Doge's palace in ancient Venice. The building is the home of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (total assets, $12.3 billion), and the offices of the International Bank are tucked away in a couple of rooms on the fifth floor, like a one-dollar bill in a wad of tens and twenties.

At the Bank's offices, you are greeted by Evan Gwynne, a genial, middle-thirtyish person who works for the financial-advertising agency of Doremus and Company, located a couple of blocks away on lower Broadway. The Doremus firm was given the job of handling the Bank's public relations, and Gwynne divides his time between the two offices. From files, desk drawers and a cluttered pile of papers on his desk, Gwynne assembled a collection of mimeographed press releases, speeches by Bank officials and pamphlets such as "Who's Who in the International Bank," "What the IBRD Means to You" and Loan to Crédit National Pour Faciliter la Réparation des Dommages Causés par la Guerre, guaranteed by the Republic of France." From this assortment, and helped along by Gwynne, you discover that:

1. The International Bank, an independent United Nations organization, was set up at the Bretton Woods Conference in July, 1944, along with the International Monetary Fund. It is now a going concern, having made its first loan—to France—in May, 1947, and others to the Netherlands, Denmark and Luxembourg. More than $2 billion worth of loan applications is pending.

2. The Bank's lendable funds are limited. Although the 45 member countries are obligated to back it to the extent of more than $8 billion, they are required to put up only 20 percent of that amount, approximately $1.6 billion, except in an emergency. Of this $1.6 billion, the larger part is in such foreign currencies as francs, pounds, lire, crowns, etc. Eventually the foreign currencies put up by member nations will be used to make Bank loans. As of the autumn of 1947, however, there is little international demand for any currency except US dollars.

3. In actual gold and US dollars, which borrowers want, the Bank has total paid-in resources of only about $725 million. The Bank can get more dollars by selling International Bank bonds to US investors. As the first step in raising such additional dollars, the Bank offered $250 million worth of bonds to US investors on July 15. The bonds were of $1,000 denomination and were offered through 1,600 dealers scattered over the United States. The issue was a howling success: it sold out the first day.

The Bank's main offices in Washington are in a modern, 11-story structure it shares with the International Monetary Fund. There were a couple of statistical-looking gentlemen in the elevator speaking French, but the atmosphere is that of Middletown, although many of the senior employees and officials come from member countries scattered over the world. In the offices you are welcomed by several more Doremus fellows, who arrange for appointments and offer you late

Drawings by Neuwirth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

issues of *Fortune* and the monthly publication of the Wall Street firm of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Beane to read while you wait.

Large-scale need

ROBERT GARNER, the Bank's tall, gray, Tennessean vice-president, tends to look at things from a businessman-banker point of view. He came to the Bank from the General Foods Corporation, and was formerly with the Guaranty Trust Company in New York. From his air-conditioned office, painted a watery pea-soup color, he sees the Bank's role right now as limited in what it can do. To him, experience has proved that the basic job of world relief had been underestimated and that there is need for some sort of large-scale (a few billion, he thinks) US Government lending program based along the lines of the Marshall Plan. Such a program, by taking care of emergency needs, could make the job of the World Bank much easier.

Government assistance outside the Bank could take care of the projects which require more money than the Bank has to lend in lump sums, or could take over in cases where the kind of assistance needed is for subsistence purposes, for which the Bank cannot lend. Once the people of the world are clothed and have enough food to sustain their energies, he thinks, the Bank could help by making loans to furnish them capital to rebuild shattered industries and get their economies going again.

Part of the Bank's job, Garner thinks, is to act as a catalytic agent to stimulate private loans by American banks and private investments by American companies in foreign countries. "If these countries go at the job on a sound, economic basis, it will work. The way to build up a country is the way that America was built up—get private capital to invest money and build factories."

Looking at the World Bank, Garner is proud of the efficient staff that has been assembled and hopeful that by getting together experts and representatives from many of the 45 member countries, the Bank can help greatly to build up an international viewpoint that will clarify everybody's thinking. He pointed out that while many other international agencies can only argue and make recommendations, the World Bank is set up to act. "At least we can write a check," he grinned. "But," he swung around in his chair, "none of us think we can save the world—we only think we can help."

The World Bank

How It Is Organized

¶ A specialized UN agency, the World Bank is at present made up of 45 member nations.

¶ The Soviet Union is not a member.

¶ Each member nation contributes an agreed-upon quota of gold, dollars and its own currency to the Bank's capital. Total capital is more than $8 billion.

¶ Each member nation has a share in the voting control over the Bank's activities based upon the amount of its capital contribution. The United States has 35 percent of the total votes, and the US and Britain combined, 49 percent.

What It Can Do

¶ The Bank can lend money for productive purposes. The loans bear interest and are not gifts: the borrower must demonstrate ability to repay the loan.

¶ The Bank can guarantee private loans made for the purpose of international reconstruction and development.

What It Has Done

To date, the World Bank has made the following loans:

1. Two hundred and fifty million dollars to France.
2. One hundred and ninety-five million dollars to the Netherlands.
3. Forty million dollars to Denmark.
4. Twelve million dollars to Luxembourg.

What It Cannot Do

The Bank cannot solve all the world's economic problems.

The Bank cannot finance anything the size of the Marshall Plan. (The Marshall Plan will involve somewhere between $15 billion and $30 billion; the World Bank has and can now raise only $2 billion to $3 billion.)

Sweating to meet pay rolls

"SURE they can help, but how much?" It was an ex-New Dealer talking. He sat in his private law office, reached by narrow, gloomy stairs in a corner of Washington not far from the White House. There is a sprinkling of former government officials around Washington. Some have set up law firms; others are business consultants. Some are in business on their own and are sweating a little trying to meet a pay roll.

"Two or three billion at the most," he went on, "figuring that they can borrow on the strength of the uncalled American quota." He leaned back, stuffing tobacco into his pipe. "You have to remember that the Bank was limited by the Bretton Woods Agreement and the restrictions Congress put on when it ratified the deal. Then the old crowd moved out and the Wall Street fellows came in. They talk now about 'calculated risks' and the economic standing and credit rating of countries that want to borrow. They even bring pressure to make countries pay up on prewar loans. That's great stuff in a stable world. It worked in the nineteenth century, but it wasn't that kind of thinking that tackled the depression or won the war.

"The political factor is always there when you have a loan to consider, but mention political loans at the Bank and they tend to jump a mile. The way those bankers look at it, they are limited to making loans for strictly economic purposes. Notice how they played it when they announced the Dutch loan. 'Wouldn't be used to help the war in Indonesia—only for internal Dutch purposes.' I suppose some people still think that by helping a country's internal economy you don't necessarily help its war potential, but that attitude is a little naïve."

From a banking viewpoint, the quickest way for the World Bank to go

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

broke is to start making loans which won't be paid back. Bankrupting the Bank isn't the kind of policy you sell to fellows like Winthrop W. Aldrich of Chase National, and Gordon S. Rentschler of National City. They are members of the President's Committee for Financing Foreign Trade and meet every month with the National Advisory Council. The Council controls all the United States foreign lending agencies, the Export-Import Bank, including the US representatives at the World Bank and Monetary Fund. It's headed by Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, an old St. Louis banker. On it are Secretary of State Marshall, Secretary of Commerce Harriman, of Brown Brothers, Harriman and Company, and the Federal Reserve Bank Governors.

Slick public relations

GOING around to see government officials in Washington, you sense at once that the pace has changed from the war days. Instead of three or four desks pushed together in a room large enough for two, or temporary buildings filled with clattering typewriters in long rows, things are quieter now. Roomier and more comfortable.

Sitting in an office at least 30′ by 50′, behind a mahogany desk, a civil servant from prewar days sketched another part of the story. The telephone at his left never rang to interrupt him. When a call came through, a red or white light flashed, and he flipped a switch. It was easy on the nerves.

"I've been around Washington quite a while," he said, "but the fellows at the Bank have done the slickest job of public relations I've seen yet. For a while it seemed as if the Bank had the slows. It took from July, 1944, to June, 1946, to get it established. It took almost another full year to make the first loan. There were many reasons. First, the Soviet Union didn't come in. There were a lot of guesses why not—the Russians didn't tell anybody. No veto power. They couldn't join the Bank without furnishing a lot of information about gold holdings, production and their domestic economy. Besides, the Bank and the Monetary Fund were set up to help private trade and promote free enterprise and competition—things that don't jibe with Soviet ideas.

"Then there were arguments inside the bank about how much control the big powers would have over lending policy, and differences of opinion in interpreting sections of the agreement. When Eugene Meyer retired as President last December, nobody seemed to want to take over his job. That didn't help the Bank's public relations. 'Thirty thousand dollars a year,' people were saying. 'If nobody wants that job there must be a reason.'

"Finally they persuaded John McCloy, who used to be with a Wall Street firm of lawyers, to take the job pretty much on his own terms. He brought in people like Eugene Black of Chase National, and Bob Garner. They were men who had the confidence and respect of the investment community.

"Those fellows turned out to be busy bees. Went all over the country making speeches to groups of bankers, explaining what the Bank's setup and purposes were. They had a hell of a job. During the years between the First World War and the depression, the US loaned or invested more than $15 billion abroad. Losses on foreign bonds alone were $3.5 billion. Made a lot of bum loans to places like Germany, Cuba, Chile and Peru. The investment houses jumped in to get the high interest rates and make fat commissions. A lot of the boys got burned. When McCloy took over, if you mentioned foreign loans to a lot of American bankers and financial men, they'd jump down your throat. But McCloy and the other fellows did a slick job. I was at one of the meetings in New York when McCloy spoke—look it up."

Banking on the fairway

PART of McCloy's speech went like this:

"In traveling about the country with Mr. Eugene Black, I have received a real education in how the bond business is transacted. . . . First, you arrive at the designated spot—it is usually a resort of some sort—and though you are scheduled to speak at the morning session, you are warned by Black that you can't rely on that, because if it is a good day everybody will be out playing golf and some of the most important, anyway, just don't show up as a matter of principle. So what you must do, according to Black, is what he calls mosey around.

"It takes something like this form: Black goes up to a fellow and he says, 'Hello, Hank.' Hank says, 'Hello, Gene.'

" 'By the way, have you heard about these International Bank Bonds?'

"Hank says, 'Yes, I've heard about them.'

" 'What do you think of them?' Black asks.

" 'Well, I wouldn't touch them with a ten-foot pole,' or some other such remark as that.

"Whereupon Black says, 'I'll tell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you what I'll do. I'll bet you ten dollars you'll buy a million dollars' worth of them.'

"This usually provokes interest, because anything resembling a bet at these meetings, I find, always stirs people into action. Well, then there are several comments back and forth, and maybe a song or two, if it is late enough at night, and before very long, Hank is offering Gene the ten dollars. It frequently occurred to me during this trip that if Tom Clark [the US Attorney General] could only get at that technique and declare it illegal, he would really be getting somewhere."

East-West squeeze play

WHETHER or not the world can be saved from the golf course, the World Bank remains an $8 billion institution (of which only two or three billion are available in the foreseeable future) operating in a world which is estimated to have destroyed a trillion dollars' worth of its wealth in World War II. In making comparisons and assessing the job it can do, such things as the $50 billion job of lend-lease, the more than $330 billion cost of the war to the United States alone, and the $3.75 billion loan to the British, now almost gone, have to be measured alongside it. The decline of a war psychology, the absence of economic controls, the falling away of such wartime devices as nationwide campaigns to sell War and Victory Bonds to the man in the street have to be taken into account. At war, the US did a large percentage of its money raising by selling $18.75 bonds to a patriotic citizenry. At peace, the International Bank so far has raised the money it needs by selling $1,000 bonds to large investors, banks and insurance companies.

The Bank is a conservative institution living in postwar times. The thinking of men like John Maynard Keynes, the British economist, and Harry White, formerly with the US Government, built the Bank. But their ideas have now given way to the concepts of businessmen and bankers. Caught in the middle of an East-West world squeeze and trying to make sense of the often conflicting desires and aims of its 45 member nations, the Bank at least has managed to set up and get going in a limited sense.

Birth and death

THE basic purpose of the Bank was clear in the mind of John J. McCloy, its American president, when he told a story last May to a group of bankers in New York.

Back in 1945, when McCloy was Assistant Secretary of War, he made a tour of the battlefronts. One day, when he was following General Patton's armies on the other side of the Rhine, he noticed a crowd of refugees streaming away from the sound of the guns. He followed them as they stopped for the night in a large German riding hall. "I have never seen such a sight," said McCloy. "Over in one corner on a manure heap I witnessed the birth of a child. On the other side of the manure heap was a corpse. The extent to which particularly the women set about to restore a little decency in their immediate environment was most impressive. It was fundamentally an instinct upon which you can capitalize."

According to McCloy, what those people needed and wanted most was a broom. Mulling the scene over in his mind, McCloy felt that after food and clothing, what the world needed most was tools to reconstruct and build up its shattered factories, houses, roads and railways. The International Bank could see that the world's citizens were provided the brooms, the tools with which to do the job of rebuilding.

At the time, McCloy may not have been as fully aware of the problems involved in spreading brooms around the world as he is now. One of the persons in Washington most familiar with the Bank problems heard the story, then remarked, "He's right, but a lot of other angles enter in.

"One of the troubles is," he went on, "a lot of these countries are short of experts and professional people. They don't know much about how to draw up a loan prospectus or figure out an integrated economic program which makes any kind of over-all sense. Back in January the Bank had applications for loans totaling about $2.5 billion. Some of those early applications would make you laugh. Everybody seemed to want to make steel.

"If the Bank had lent them the money to build steel mills, there'd be more damned steel than you could use in a hundred years. Ask them how they were going to pay the loans back and they'd say, 'By exporting steel.' Sure, everybody's going to export steel, but who's going to buy it? Another thing that everybody wanted was a hydroelectric project. Didn't make any difference that they didn't have any factories to use the power. 'Look at the TVA,' they'd say.

"I remember during the war when a crazy-fool businessman from one of the British Dominions was in town. Wanted to start manufacturing automobiles—build everything he needed from axles to bumpers. The fellow had three million to put into the idea. We told him that if he tried to manufacture automobiles from the ground up, he'd lose his shirt. 'What do I care about three million dollars?' he asked? 'The prestige of my country is more important to me than money.' I don't know what happened to him or the three million dollars, but I'll bet you a quarter to a cookie that if you studied it, you'd find that his fellow citizens would benefit a whole lot more if the money went into something like an irrigation project.

"Brooms," he mused as he reached for the tobacco can and thought of the job waiting for him back at his old university whenever he got fed up and decided to leave the public service. "Sure they need brooms, but human nature being what it is, you still find that almost everybody wants a steel mill."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

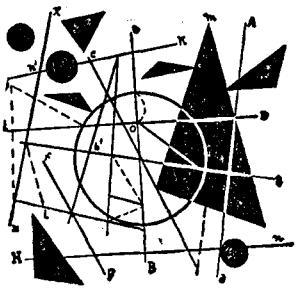
Books in Review

The Unobstructed View

SCIENCE ADVANCES, by J. B. S. Haldane (Macmillan and Company; $3).

J. B. S. HALDANE is a prodigious creature. In mind and body his capacity is beyond anything easily imagined. Newton once remarked with excessive modesty that if he saw a little further than his contemporaries, it was because he stood on the shoulders of his predecessors. One has the impression that in scientific matters, certainly, Haldane, if not quite a Newton, has the unobstructed vision of a man at least a head above most of his fellows.

For the sake of a single title he may be called a geneticist. (His regular post is professor of biometry at University College, London.) He has made contributions, many of high value, to biology, physiology, preventive medicine, botany, hematology, statistical theory, prevention of air-raid casualties and the effects of various gases and other chemical and physical agents on the human body—very frequently his own. He has so comprehensive a grasp of mathematics and physics that he has made a number of



brilliant suggestions in connection with the work of E. A. Milne, a leading British mathematical physicist, whose theory of kinematical relativity affords a significant supplement to Einstein's great concept. He is the author of several distinguished scientific books, a fellow of the Royal Society, a rationalist, an agnostic and a Marxist. It seems to me important to mention this last fact because it has a bearing on the book here considered, especially in the opinions of earlier reviewers. I have no hesitation in mentioning it, since Haldane lives in England, where Marxism, though not currently enjoying a *succès fou,* is not necessarily regarded as equivalent to a compound of leprosy, darkness and incest.

Science Advances is a collection of popular science essays, almost all of which appeared in the (London) *Daily Worker.* The subjects range from Archimedes to Vavilov, from newts, cats and doodlebugs (V-1 rockets) to cancer, the relation between overcrowding and heart disease, and X-rays. Some of the essays are very well done and charmingly written. Some are a little careless in style, fact and inference. Some read as if composed, as Haldane admits they were, on a train and in a hurry. Presumably he does not possess Lancelot Hogben's self-proclaimed talent for writing books while commuting. It remains that much of the material has the stamp of a master in science as well as the art of "high vulgarization."

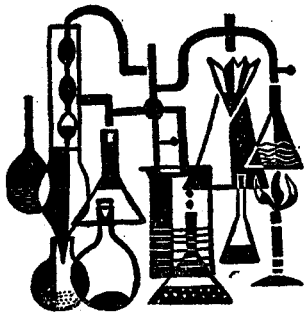
When writing of science or speculative philosophy, Haldane arouses a feeling I have enjoyed only rarely since I was a boy. When my father, who was a physician and had as sound an appreciation of the spirit and method of science as any man, answered my questions about how things work, I was wholly satisfied except that I felt I could never learn enough from this omniscient man. After a time I began to think I knew a good bit myself and stopped asking. But when I read Haldane, things rearrange themselves and I recapture the more rational perspective.

The book itself is very much like the man—many-sided, reflecting a brilliant and incisive intellect, warmed by a humanitarian eclecticism, by sympathy and by an understanding of men's suffering, perplexity and need. Haldane is prepared always to use himself as a guinea pig for his experiments, partly because of his insatiable curiosity as a scientist, partly because he regards it as an obligation to make sacrifices for science in the service of society. His father, a famous physiologist, inculcated the practice in him at an early age: "He analyzed the blood of a number of men, women and children. I was one of the children, but it was rather hard to get all that he wanted, and my sister was heard at our door telling a young friend, 'You come in here, my farver wants your blood'." Since then, with almost masochistic devotion, Haldane has given quarts of blood ("I have certainly produced and measured greater changes in my own blood than anyone else has ever done"), inoculated himself with diseases, tested himself and brought about insensibility, high fever, severe convulsions ("very unpleasant they were"), "agonizing pain," "states of extreme terror," temporary paralysis and even permanent injuries by submitting to oxygen, nitrogen and carbon-dioxide intoxication, self-poisoning ("though not with snake venom"), drinking hydrochloric acid and pursuing other unpleasant, though useful, investigations. During the war he engaged in perilous deep-diving tests to see how much pressure, cold and other hardships men can bear under water without succumbing. The work would have been a feat for a young man, and Haldane is well on in his fifties. Al-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

together, one concludes that on behalf of science he has done about everything but put his head on a railroad track.

ALTHOUGH the book strays down a hundred bypaths, scarcely any of the essays fails to divert, to exhibit facts new to the layman and to illuminate old and well known data in a freshly challenging way. "If you look at a picture of a Roman chariot, you find that it was not much bigger than a perambulator, and was pulled by at least four horses." The reason for this large number is that the harness was pulled by pressing a strap on the horses' throat, so that if they exercised a force of more than a few pounds they would have been throttled. The number of cats in an area "is roughly proportional to the number of human beings"; "the number of cats with a fixed abode is about 10.5 percent of the number of humans, the number of strays about 2.5 percent." And there are—philosophers of the city, Lewis Mumford, say, may take notice—three times as many cats in the slums per hundred human beings as on a country estate.



The clock was perhaps the most important invention of the "Dark Ages." Curiously, the concern over *time,* today become almost a paranoiac obsession, was hardly its most significant aspect. Instead, the clock deserves a high place in the history of invention as "the forerunner of every kind of machine in which one wheel transmits power to another, whether through gears, belts, cranks or worms. In the long run, therefore, it had a very great effect in liberating men from toil."

Your normal temperature is not 98.6 degrees F. That is fairly close to average temperature when you are

at rest or doing light work. As a whole the temperature of the body is "well over 99 degrees F." The sheep, a hot-blooded mammal, regardless of appearances, has an average temperature of 104 degrees F., "whilst the tiger appears to be no warmer than ourselves; but perhaps Dr. John Davy, who took the temperature of a tiger in 1839, did not wait till the thermometer had become steady."

"There *Were* Giants" is a fascinating piece about our ancestors, a half million years back, our great . . . grandfathers ("with about 20,000 'greats' in the gap") who may have weighed a half-ton or more. The evidence comes from ancient molars sold in Chinese apothecaries' shops in Hong Kong. If these creatures existed, it explains, better than do the Ogilvie Sisters, why men had lost most of their hair and become the peeled creatures they are before they began to make weapons or use fire. For a giant animal in a warm country has difficulty in keeping cool, and generally loses most of its hair, like the elephant, the hippopotamus and the rhinoceros.

Haldane's gift for vivid images is well exemplified in this passage from an essay on cancer:

> Half the nitrogen atoms in some compounds which form part of the living structure of liver may be exchanged in 12 hours. In fact a living man or animal is in many ways more like a flame or waterfall than an ordinarily solid body. The structure remains, but is constantly being built up from fresh atoms.

And here is a clear explanation of the quantum theory:

> A man can only pay a bill in units which are different in different countries. The smallest English unit is a farthing; the smallest American, a cent; and so on. So if you know that a man always pays his bills in cents, you know that he lives in America, and so on. A large-sized material object, such as a flywheel, can have any energy over a wide range and can give it out in a continuous stream. But an atom or a molecule is like a flywheel which can only rotate at certain definite speeds, and therefore if it gives out energy or absorbs it, must do so in standardized quantities. Each spectral color represents the difference between two of these energy levels.

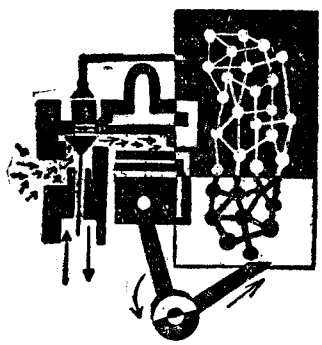
This kind of thing has been done often, but rarely so well. Between American and British popularizations of science there are marked differences. We specialize in the science news story; they prefer the essay form. We tend to goggle; they, as one might expect, are restrained. We are preoccupied with gadgets; they write of pure science and its philosophy as well as its application. I do not mean uncritically to praise their work and reserve the pejorative for ours: we have excellent men, such as E. U. Condon, Edward Kasner, E. T. Bell, Henry Norris Russell, Selig Hecht, Waldemar Kaempffert and William H. Lawrence, among others, who write about science clearly and unpretentiously. On balance, however, I prefer the essay form, and it is particularly gratifying to realize that the T. H. Huxley-William Kingdon Clifford tradition remains ("lectures to ladies," "to workmen," "for a juvenile auditory"), and that eminent British scientists are not too snobbish to give lectures and write for mass audiences.

CRITICISM has been directed at this book for its little Marxian morals tacked on unashamedly at the conclusion of many of the essays. Haldane anticipated that he would be accused of having "dragged in Marxism like King Charles's head!" This, he says,

Drawings by Snyder

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is "inevitable if the writer thinks, as I do, that Marxism is the application of scientific method to the widest field so far achieved by man." I am not disposed to quarrel with Haldane's right to mix La Fontaine with science, even if some of the fables seem far-fetched and the coupling with the main body of an essay is sometimes weak and strained. The doctrinaire approach is here softened by Haldane's evident humanitarian concern, by the fact that



he takes science seriously and regards it as something more than taxonomy, more even than a series of adventures in ideas. The essays make a book instead of a grab-bag precisely because there is a central theme running through the whole. Marxian interpretations of history, especially scientific development, do not impress me. I could not, as the story runs about Haldane, be cured of stomach ulcers by reading Engels. But when a writer is primarily concerned with the contribution that science can make to social and economic improvement, I am prepared to let him choose his labels. Good sense and good morals do not seem to me to be less good when incorporated in Marxian doctrine. On the whole, I feel the same about Haldane's penchant for Marxism as did Lincoln about Grant's drinking habits.

JAMES R. NEWMAN

Walt Whitman: The Philosopher

LAST year I wrote two articles about Whitman for the *New Republic* in which I discussed at length and documented the open secret of his homosexuality.[1] No, I wasn't at all happy about prying into his private life, but still the articles had to be written, after all the evasions of the poet himself and his biographers. The facts of his life are necessary because they help us in reaching a more accurate picture of his work. The real task in front of us is to revise our notions of Whitman's philosophy, which I admire less and less as time goes on, and of his poetry, which I admire more and more. Indeed, it seems to me now that critics and teachers, in their preoccupation with the figure of Whitman as a democratic sage, have forgotten the poet to such an extent that his earliest and best works are becoming the great neglected masterpieces of American literature.

WHITMAN'S philosophy, on the other hand, is a subject of enormous complexity and relatively minor importance. Although he left school at the age of eleven or twelve, he was all his life a great reader of books and newspapers, a great clipper-out of magazine articles. Newton Arvin, in a chapter of his fine *Whitman,* has traced many of the poet's ideas to their sources: a difficult undertaking that involves such questions as whether he acquired the ideas at first or second or third hand, and at what period of his life, and whether he understood them as the original author intended, and how he changed them for his own purposes.

At the end of the long chapter, one is left with a feeling of respect for Whitman's mass of information, but also with a diminished sense of his individuality. He seems not so much an independent thinker as a repository for all the ideas, however inconsistent, that might be held by a liberal mid-nineteenth-century American reader. He said in the "Song of Myself":

> Do I contradict myself?
> Very well then I contradict myself,
> (I am large, I contain multitudes.)

—And he *did* contain multitudes; he contained, for example, moods or notions taken from the Hebrew prophets and psalmists, the Comte de Volney (author of *The Ruins*), our own Tom Paine, Sir Walter Scott, Elias Hicks (the great Quaker schismatic), Frances Wright (the apostle of feminism), Emerson (who, he said, "brought me to a boil"), George Sand (his favorite novelist), Carlyle, Goethe (of the autobiography), Darwin and Hegel (his most admired philosopher)—with echoes of other famous or forgotten men and women who helped to shape the mind of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, he contained these multitudes, not as the sky contains stars, by fixed laws, and not as a tree has roots; but rather as a river in flood contains driftwood or an attic contains the family relics.

He never went over the relics, discarding those of no value and arranging the others systematically. He was indolent, as he often said, and opposed on principle to any form of intellectual discipline. His work is full of separate statements, discoveries, hints and intuitions that make it richer as poetry—which in dealing with Whitman should be our chief concern; but they are dangerous as philosophical guides because they point in all directions. Nationalism and internationalism; socialism, fascism (including its racial doctrines) and private enterprise; naturalism and idealism; the love of life and the blind hunger for death: all these quarreling tendencies, and others, can be illustrated by quotations from his poems. As a philosopher he lights our way, sometimes in lightning flashes, sometimes with an intermittent, shifting, jack-o'-lantern glow that might lead us into a swamp.

ALMOST his only exercise in consecutive thinking was *Democratic Vistas,* published in 1871. Here he was working on a theme close to his heart: not democracy in general, but the dependence of a democracy like ours on its outstanding individuals, and the role in forming those individuals of a national literature. "All else in the contributions of a nation or age, through its politics, materials, heroic personalities, military eclat, &c., remains crude," he said, ". . . until vitalized by national, original archetypes in literature. They only put the nation in form, finally tell any-

[1] "Walt Whitman: The Miracle," March 18, 1946; and "Walt Whitman: The Secret," April 8, 1946.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drawing by Max Beerbohm

"Walt Whitman, Inciting the Bird of Freedom to Soar"

thing—prove, complete anything—perpetuate anything." In reality he is writing an essay on archetypes or myths and the poet's role in creating them—his own role, that is; and the essay contains as many fresh and usable insights as the best of Emerson's.

There is only a footnote in *Democratic Vistas* that mentions his central idea about the basis of democracy: To find that idea expressed at length, we have to turn back to the "Calamus" poems and, after the symbolical interpretations offered by a hundred critics, we have to read them with the notion that Whitman meant in them exactly what he said. It is such a simple message that only a very learned man could misinterpret it. Whitman said that he proposed to establish all through the United States "the institution of the dear love of comrades," which he also described as "robust American love." He identified or confused homosexuality with Americanism; he said that "the main purport of these States is to found a superb friendship, exalté, previously unknown." And this strange confusion developed into a definite political program, the first of its kind since Plato: the Civil War was to be prevented, the States were to be united forever, by manly affection in all the houses, by "countless linked hands" north and south and by comradely kisses at parting in the streets.

It has become the fashion among Whitman scholars to hold that this doctrine was changed in later years, sublimated, socialized, cleansed, so to speak, of its sexual elements and somehow carried to a more spiritual plane, so that it could be used as the philosophical basis for an ideal democracy. But there is nothing in Whitman's later prose or poetry to show that he ever did more than soften the originally blunt expression of his idea. The footnote to *Democratic Vistas* says that manly friendship, "fond and loving, pure and sweet, strong and life-long, carried to degrees hitherto unknown," will be found to have "the deepest relations to general politics. I say democracy infers such loving comradeship," Whitman continues, "as its most inevitable twin or counterpart, without which it will be incomplete, in vain, and incapable of perpetuating itself." And he returned to his thesis once again, when he mentioned the "Calamus" poems in the preface he wrote for the Centennial Edition of his works, published in 1876. "Important as they are in my purpose as emotional expressions for humanity," he said:

> . . . the special meaning of the "Calamus" cluster of *Leaves of Grass*, (and more or less running through the book, and cropping out in "Drum-Taps,") mainly resides in its political significance. In my opinion, it is by a fervent, accepted development of comradeship, the beautiful and sane affection of man for man, latent in all the young fellows, north and south, east and west—it is by this, I say, and by what goes directly and indirectly along with it, that the United States of the future, (I cannot too often repeat,) are to be most effectively welded together, intercalated, anneal'd into a living union.

Here the tone is vaguer, loftier and more persuasive than in the "Calamus" poems themselves, but the change is chiefly in language; the meaning is essentially the same. Whitman lived for 16 years after publishing the Centennial Edition and became increasingly disturbed by mentions of his past indiscretions, which he tried to hide in the mists of legend; yet there is no sign that he abandoned his idea about the basis of democracy. It is, as he tells us often, his central doctrine as a philosopher, and it is simply irrelevant to American life. Apart from any moral considerations, it does not correspond to the usual experiences or the normal aspirations of young fellows north and south, east and west. Ask them at the nearest bar and grill if they think that democracy infers a fond and loving comradeship among men as its inevitable twin or counterpart. I know that I am carrying the question outside of literature, but Whitman at this point was talking, as he said, about general politics; and he was talking nonsense.

THE picture of Whitman as a democratic sage and prophet, the healthy, sane and purely native embodiment of his own poems, has been convenient to historians and flattering to the national spirit, but it will have to be abandoned. It has led in the past to illusions, apologies and a red-faced unwillingness to admit that Whitman often lied about himself. It has led to serious misconceptions of American literature and whole book-stacks full of third-rate critical and creative writing. It has led to the false notion that the ideal American poet or novelist is a rough-hewn aboriginal creature tallying in his works—as Whitman would say—the geographical features of the country: high as its mountains, broad as its prairies,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tangled as its swamps. But American writers of stature have rarely been lettered savages or extroverts flinging their arms right and left to embrace multitudes; they have been, for the most part, hurt and lonely men—as Whitman was hurt and lonely when he wrote his first great poems; and they have been more concerned in their work with depth than with breadth of emotion; more interested in achieving psychological truth and honest craftsmanship than in reproducing the train-window sweep of the continent.

GREAT are the myths," I might say to those friends, chiefly in academic circles, who persist in believing that the legendary Whitman was also a living man, "but they are not to be confused with history. This rugged and masculine poet who embodied the aspirations of American democracy, this father image of yours, was a fictional or dramatic creation that belongs in the same category as Rip Van Winkle and Leatherstocking and Huckleberry Finn. When the living Whitman dressed and acted the part, it was as if J. Fenimore Cooper, Esq., of the big house in Cooperstown, had gone about in buckskin breeches carrying a long rifle. That wouldn't have made him a deerslayer; nor did Whitman's red-flannel undershirt and shaggy dress make him the philosopher of the democratic masses.

"He created and dressed and acted a part," I would say; "and always when acting he was a bad poet who wrote chamber-of-commerce speeches and cried, 'O pioneers!' but described the pioneers in flat images and awkward rhythms, without the grace that comes from intimate belief. What we have to rediscover is the Whitman who wasn't acting, who spoke from the depths of his nature and wrote the greatest poems of his time. We have to rescue him from the pundits and politicians and give his work back to poetry."

MALCOLM COWLEY

A second article, dealing with Whitman as a poet, will appear in a forthcoming issue. – THE EDITORS

Mrs. Wharton

TEN YEARS after Edith Wharton's death, her old friend Percy Lubbock has published what he calls a "portrait" of her. His book, *Portrait of Edith Wharton* (Appleton-Century; $3), is "not a formal biography"; her own published reminiscenses, he thinks, are sufficient for that. Nor has he referred to her correspondence, since he feels "her letters would give no living picture of her." As an Englishman, he knew practically nothing of her life in America, but on this, as well as on the later period of her life, he quotes the evidence of many of her friends, so that the book is, above all, "a likeness of her as she lives in their memory."

For Lubbock's part, he writes with an exquisite discretion that matches his fine, courteous style, and the resultant tone is one of awe mixed with a determination not to say any more than he has to, and to admit as little as possible on what he has to say. "Not what she did but how she did it is my concern." Yes, but after learning all about how she did it, our concern is a little for what she did.

We may infer that what she did for the most part was lead a "fashionable life." This is generally considered to be an anomaly for an artist, but she not only showed no inclination to change her position, she was satisfied with it and she insisted on it.

The greater part of her life as a writer was spent in Europe, among a large circle of friends that included such other notable expatriates as Henry James and Howard Sturgis. But in spite of it she was a "lonely woman . . . it was solitude that she chiefly dreaded and evaded." In Europe, the rather less than attractive impression continues: Edith Wharton snubbing American acquaintances abroad, or motoring to remote villages only to complain that the food and lodging were not suitable to a rich lady from New York. It is extraordinarily curious that this results in a "portrait" that Mrs. Wharton might have written herself—and a subtle caricature of moneyed America.

Drawing by John Mackey

EDITH WHARTON

FROM the book, however, we gather not so much a deliberate qualification of this impression as hints that this is only a partial portrait. Of her work practically nothing is said. Of her conversation very little, and from that we chiefly learn that she kept her friends at a distance. There is a suggestion of a restless and incisive intelligence in the wry comment that it was (intellectually) "easy for Edith to cut knots." And a remark of Henry James somewhat redeems the general level of ineffectual praise: "You may find her difficult, but you will find nothing stupid in her and nothing small."

Lubbock suggests that she suffered from a bad artistic conscience for her desertion of America: that is, she feared her range as a novelist had narrowed, to the detriment of her work. But for America itself "she constantly expressed the strongest aversion." She may well have suspected that she would lose more than she would gain in America, where the life of a woman in her world would have been inimical to her life as an artist. On the other hand in Europe, at that time, money and a certain social position were far from absolute death to such a life. In any case, her "aversion" did its work well, about as well as any writer of her time, and to prove it I would cite the very special example of her remarkable and neglected novel, *The Custom of the Country.*

JOHN FARRELLY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor

The Plot Thickens

MUCH as I hate to keep harping on the Taft-Hartley Act, things are constantly happening to keep that handiwork of Congress in the news. One of the funniest recent developments was the announcement that Senator Taft himself was "considering" an amendment to the anti-closed-shop provision, specifically in relation to union hiring halls. This news came after the Ohio presidential aspirant had talked on the West Coast to Harry Lundeberg, head of the AFL Seafarers' International Union.

Why was this so funny? Well, when Taft held press conferences several months ago on Senate Labor Committee hearings, he specifically declared that the anti-closed-shop provision would primarily knock out union hiring halls. Didn't Taft know that almost all recently developed hiring halls are concentrated in the maritime industry and that they grew up chiefly to give workers a defense against the old system of employer-controlled favoritism, bribery, kickbacks and politics in hiring for a job? Obviously he did not, or a belated conference with Lundeberg, who must have explained the facts of modern industrial life on the waterfronts, would not have shaken the Senator's self-confidence.

Then, one may ask, why did not Taft seek such information before driving through the Taft-Hartley bill? Why did he not invite union spokesmen—Lundeberg, or Joe Curran and Harry Bridges of the CIO maritime and waterfront unions—to testify before his committee? Possibly for the same reason that he did not ask advice from former public members of the old War Labor Board—the impartial body which knew more about industrial relations than any other group in the country. Taft and Joe Ball of Minnesota were as hell-bent to "curb" unions as a Salem elder to discourage witches.

The ironic fact is that mere amendment of the anti-closed-shop clause of the Taft-Hartley Act would not of itself cure the damage done honestly conducted union hiring halls. Another provision allows the several states to pass anti-closed-shop legislation which shall be superior to the national labor law. Maybe Taft will eventually discover that Roosevelt and Senator Wagner of New York were right to consider basic principles of industrial relations a national issue.

EDITORIAL. – A recent Scripps-Howard-chain editorial praised the Taft-Hartley Act for having averted 31 strikes since it went into effect. The reference was to the provision requiring a union-membership vote on the employer's "final offer" before a strike; in 31 such cases out of more than twice that many tests the "final offer" was accepted.

The editorial may be described, one supposes, as a non sequitur. The basic cause for fewer strikes this year than last—before and since the Taft-Hartley Act—is a change in the social, psychological, political and economic climate.

A year ago union men were militant, angry at the abuse heaped upon them by the press during war years, and in a mood of defiance. Some had a yearning for a vacation, some a desire to bat the boss's eye; many of their leaders felt it necessary to defend union security and the income of the members against abolition of wartime overtime wages and the hostility of some corporate managements.

The climate today is different; most of the CIO unions which went on strike last year, reached amicable agreements with their employers this year. And did so before the Taft-Hartley law was passed. Where real grievances existed—as during the New York longshoremen's walkout while the question of overriding the Taft-Hartley veto was pending—the men quit work, regardless of Congress.

In any case, all arguments about the supposed virtues of cool-offs and last-minute strike votes should disappear in the face of the record. Every major strike last year occurred only after a rank-and-file strike vote, held under government auspices by secret ballot as required by the Smith-Connally Act. There is little basis for the common assumption that strikes occur because union members are stooges of union bosses. That is partly true in a few old-line unions, but not in big national or sectional labor disputes.

PORTAL PAY. – A Department of Labor release reveals that 51 percent of some 40,000 business firms inspected by the wage-hour and public-contracts divisions last year were "in violation" of some major minimum-wage, overtime-pay or child-labor section of the federal statutes.

This does not mean that a majority of businessmen are chiselers, consciously or unconsciously. Many of the inspections were concentrated in the traditionally low-wage industries —textiles, lumber, etc.—or among specific firms which had bad records. But the figures on violations do suggest that careful enforcement of the statutes is desirable unless or until Congress chooses to exercise its prerogative of repealing protective laws.

Careful enforcement, however, is scarcely to be expected in the immediate future. In an attempt to wipe out portal-pay claims the 80th Congress used language so broad that enforcement of the whole wage-hour law has been endangered. So the minority of business chiselers against decent minimum wages and child-labor standards may hereafter be lucky enough to get away with their violations.

ROUNDUP. – Most of the talk about the NLRB "overruling" General Counsel Robert N. Denham regarding non-Communist affidavits ignores the fact that the board can act only on appeal in a specific case of a specific type. . . . In 1949 the Machinists will get a new president, to succeed Harvey Brown, and three senior vice-presidents. Reason: a reduction in the mandatory retirement age from 70 to 65 years.

WILLARD SHELTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

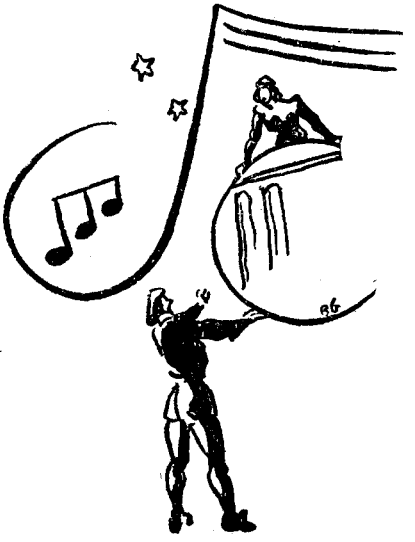
Music

New Records

COLUMBIA, having found the public willing to buy its outsize production of Handel's "Messiah," has now turned out a full-length, almost uncut recording of Verdi's "La Traviata." The first postwar version of a complete opera, "Traviata" was recorded in Rome in 1945 with apparatus shipped in from England. The improvised character of the recording process shows plainly in a lack of balance between voices and orchestra. But Vincenzo Bellezza's conducting brings a sense of the theater and a warm regard for melodic values to the familiar music; and if the singers are no great shakes vocally, at least they project the drama well and display an acquaintance with standard traditions of interpretation (Columbia MOP-25, two volumes, boxed, $18).

Two other collections of operatic music, each devoted to a single composer, are worth hearing. Jennie Tourel, one of the few mezzo-sopranos who can negotiate the elaborate, florid music of the early nineteenth century, gives zest and sometimes brilliance to four big display arias by Rossini (Columbia MM-691, $4). Torsten Ralf of the Metropolitan, with Fritz Busch conducting, offers half a dozen Wagner excerpts, from "Tannhäuser" to "Parsifal," with understanding and a tone that is solid when it is not beautiful (Columbia MM-634, $5.25).

ORCHESTRAL MUSIC.—The big news of the month is Columbia's release, in three volumes, of Handel's entire set of 12 Concerti Grossi for string orchestra. Nobody is likely to go through all 12 works at a single sitting, but they are wonderful to own and listen to over a long period. They are as cheerful as they are noble, and Handel never runs out of inventive and persuasive musical ideas. Adolf Busch and the Busch Chamber Players should have been much more careful about their execu-



tion of some of the tricky figurations, but they approach the music with affection and intelligence (Columbia MM-685, $28.50).

Richard Strauss's suite of incidental music for Molière's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" deserves to be better known than it is. Written for a small orchestra, sometimes in sophisticated imitation of the seventeenth-century French composer Lully and sometimes in Strauss's own exuberant style, this music sounds infectious in Fritz Reiner's perfect conception of it with the none too perfectly reproduced Pittsburgh Symphony (Columbia MM-693, $6). . . . The definitive version of Stravinsky's pungent violin concerto, with the composer conducting and Samuel Dushkin as soloist, is available again in a repressing of the prewar European Polydor set (Vox 173, $4.20).

If Rachmaninov's huge choral symphony, "The Bells," kept to the high level of the opening movement, it would be the gloomy Russian's masterpiece. Despite its diminishing returns, Jacques Rachmilovitch and his fine orchestra of high-powered players from the movie studios—the Santa Monica Symphony—make "The Bells" picturesque and climactic, with the aid of a Grade A chorus and Grade C soloists (Disc 804, $6.14). . . . Purcell's little "Abdelazer" suite by no means contains his best dance music, but at the hands of Edvard Fendler and the Vox Chamber Orchestra it provides a lively divertissement (Vox 199, 3.93). . . . In his prodigious output, Mozart had already arrived at his twentieth symphony by the time he was 16. Fendler's performance with the Vox Orchestra shows us that this little known symphony is a mature piece whose values would have been enhanced by less perfunctory playing (Vox 171, vinylite, $5.25).

PIANO MUSIC.—One of the year's finest performances is given by Paul Loyonnet, a French pianist who came to this country for the first time last fall, in Schumann's "Humoreske" (Concert Hall AI, unlimited release available to non-subscribers, $6.85). . . . Less impressive only because it sounds less spontaneous, Leonard Shure's playing of the dramatic Sonata in F-minor makes a valuable addition to the list of Schumann recordings (Vox 189, $4.20). . . . Another Shure performance, the Beethoven Theme and Variations in F-major, profits from an approach which is serious, like that of his teacher, Artur Schnabel, but avoids being a mere carbon copy (Vox 602, $3.15). . . . Vladimir Horowitz is a great technician, but his new Chopin album (containing the Polonaise in A-flat and the Andante Spianato and Polonaise) is a monstrosity of bad taste and misdirected nervous excitement (Victor DM-1034, $3.85).

Tschaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 2 in G-major, all but excluded from symphony programs by the immense popularity of the first concerto, is known chiefly through George Balanchine's magnificent use of it in connection with "Ballet Imperial." It should win new respect and enthusiasm through the exciting yet entirely musicianly collaboration of Shura Cherkassky with Jacques Rachmilovitch and the Santa Monica Symphony (Concert Hall AM, unlimited release, $9). . . . Guiomar Novaes, still the preëminent woman pianist, devotes herself to trifles from her native Brazil by Villa-Lobos, Guarnieri, and her husband, Octavio Pinto (Columbia MM-692, $3.25).

CECIL SMITH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Theater

Ha, Ha, Among the Trumpets

WHEN a playwright decides to turn critic, the reaction of his friends, enemies and colleagues is almost identical. It is the same reaction the respectable citizens of a community might have if a notorious woman of the town had announced that she was taking holy orders and was shortly going to Africa to convert the heathen. Everyone is doubly fearful—anxious for the trembling reputation of the Church and nervous about the drastic effect on the natives.

There is one consideration, however, with which the new critic can warm himself, that would not be available to the newly pious lady arriving in the tropics. The Church, even in this irreligious time, can be damaged by a blundering minister; and the savage, even in this age of ferociously advancing civilization, can be further corrupted. Nothing, the new critic may reflect comfortingly, can hurt the theater more than it has already been hurt by the present crop of playwrights, critics, producers, directors, theater-owners, stagehands and audiences.

And the playwright-critic, with years of printed abuse filed cheerfully away among his papers, may also amuse himself with the reflection of the felon who has been sentenced to be hanged and have his head cut off and stuck on a pike on the city walls. The last attention is redundant and not likely to cause much additional pain—and, at least, it will keep him in the public eye another week or so.

The argument is often advanced that a playwright should refrain from criticism because he may be biased. Well meaning advisers point out the difficulty of passing judgment fairly on the work of one's competitors. Professional critics, however, are as liable to bias as any other men, and a playwright's bias might be a profitably fresh one, born out of a sobering amount of experience. I do not think playwrights look upon each other as competitors, any more than infantrymen in Napoleon's army regarded as competitors the men next to them struggling home along the snowy road from Moscow. We are not in a race; we are in a common struggle to survive, with the Cossacks watching and waiting on all sides.

THERE is a pitfall in this, of course. And that is, that I may be called upon to speak harshly of men who write better plays than myself. It is one thing for a fat, balding, intellectual fellow of 40 who has not swung a bat since he played right field for Public School 39 to sit in the press box and damn Ted Williams for popping out to the infield. It is quite another for a player on the same team, who is perhaps sporting a cool .150 batting average at the moment, to have to announce that Ted Williams is having a bad season and describe what he thinks wrong with the great man.

Still, there must be a profit in all this, or why would a man desert the healing shadows in which a playwright lurks between productions for the wounding weekly glare of the critical platform? The profit, I believe, quite selfishly, is this—being forced to see and evaluate perhaps 50 plays in a winter and carefully to formulate and defend in public one's opinions 50 times can only help a man when he sits down and writes, "Act I, Scene One" for himself. And a playwright, operating in what is perhaps the most complex, demanding and obstinate of all literary mediums, can stand all the help he can get. Also, and quite as selfishly, it is conceivable that a critic may contribute by a little bit to make a theater more to his own liking than the one he finds in operation the first night he goes, free stubs in hand, doubts, prejudices, preconceptions and hopes firmly lodged in his heart, past the cold eyes of the ticket-taker.

Finally, outside politics, what better opportunity could a man find to lose several old friends and win many new enemies? The blood surges through the veins in an invigorating, fresh flood at the prospect. IRWIN SHAW

IRWIN SHAW

Drawing by John Taylor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Radio

Solemn Conclave

BROADCASTING just put on a great show. It was a spectacle cued to the one factor radio most abhors: Silence. Radio can't tolerate empty air; never for a second must sound cease as long as a transmitter has a watt left in its lungs. But the nation's broadcasters forgot that rule. More than 2,500 of them flocked to the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) convention at Atlantic City. About 500 went to the sessions of the Frequency Modulation Association (FMA) in New York. In both instances, the broadcasters gagged the two men who count most.

The two who were not heard are Clifford J. Durr and James C. Petrillo. If you don't know Durr's name, you should. This tall, lanky soft-spoken Alabama lawyer comes as close to being the people's advocate in radio as we have ever had. As a member of the Federal Communications Commission he is its outstanding square peg—representing on its round-holed board the broadest interests of America's 107 million potential radio listeners. As for Petrillo, he is to broadcasters what John L. Lewis is to the mine owners. The people who own the air could not be heard through Durr; labor could not be represented through Petrillo. So the broadcasters did what radio always does when silence threatens the air—they pulled the stops on the organ and let the music rip.

Justin Miller, president of the NAB, used to be a federal-court judge. He knows how to use judicious language—as well as when to lash out. He set the official tone in his major speech. He saw some nice people among those who criticize radio. He also saw "enemies" made up of a "vicious little nest of reptiles" who "deal in clichés." One wondered who these cliché artists were, especially when the Judge coolly tallied them "charlatans, racketeers, quacks and shysters." But a half-hour later, the court came across. The cliché

"An intimate, unadorned history of the Third Reich and, entirely incidentally, a very exciting spy-and-counterspy story."
New Yorker

"The name Gisevius, hitherto unknown to fame, is destined to be remembered as long as men esteem human freedom . . ."—*New York Herald Tribune*

$4.00

TO THE BITTER END

HANS B. GISEVIUS

John Gunther says:
"Ed Taylor's RICHER BY ASIA amply fulfills the promise of his 'Strategy of Terror'. This new book by Taylor is not merely the work of a war reporter and former Army officer but of a richly maturing political philosopher. I have found more stimulus in it than in anything I have read this year."

RICHER BY ASIA

EDMOND TAYLOR

At all bookstores, $3.75

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY · PUBLISHERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

BOOKS TOO EXPENSIVE?

Choose your own and save 25%. Order any book you want. Pay for it after you get it. Receive 25% credit on its price. Do this four times. Then use your credit for further books. Let us send you our detailed brochure or simply place your first order now.

BONUS BOOK CLUB, Inc., Dept. A
598 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

FREE CATALOGUES: Fiction, Non-Fiction, and Out-of-Print Books. History and Biography. Books guaranteed to please or money back. ATHENS BOOK COMPANY, 282 East Hancock Ave., Athens, Georgia.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

CIGARETTES—Famous Brands, $1.43 a carton postpaid. Send check or money order to **MASON'S RELIABLE SERVICE**, 431 S. 14th St. Newark 3, New Jersey. Minimum 3 cartons.

COUNTRY HOME

METROPOLITAN Opera Singer's Home; 100 acres; 6-room colonial; artesian well; bath; electric hot water heater small studio; two-car garage; many furnishings. $7,000 for quick sale. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.

DEMOCRACY

DON'T GIVE UP "THIS LAST BEST HOPE of earth". FREE pamphlet. WRITE today. Dranaherald, P. O. Box 172 (NR), Planet Station, NYC, 24.

"GOOD NEIGHBORS" WANTED

CHOICE ACRES are offered much below developer's prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, New York. Tel., 2515-M.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

PSYCHOANALYTICAL interpretation of **handwritings.** Alfred O. Mendel, 131 W. 15th St.

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese — Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York, CI 7-0830.

SPANISH, Russian, Polish, Hebrew, Norwegian, Dutch, Swedish, Japanese. 21 other Phonograph Language Courses. **All makes bought, sold, rented.** Free price list. A. Alin, 475 5th Ave., New York, MU 3-1093.

PERIODICALS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking me for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalogue NR, free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

RESEARCH

PSYCHOLOGY, PSYCHOANALYSIS: any problem in these or related fields surveyed by expert, who prepares your speech, publication, bibliography, abstracts. Straight fee or share-of-profit. European-American background. Box 867, The New Republic.

SERVICE

FOREIGN ELECTIONS, Electoral laws, constitutions—statistics, information, analyses, copies. Unique service. 150 countries, colonies. Box 994, The New Republic.

TYPING

MANUSCRIPT TYPING by Professional Literary Typist. Phone Ciara Shaw, WA 5-2429, N. Y. C.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

★ BUY U.S. SAVINGS BONDS ★

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

was identified, if not those who try to palm it off. Said Judge Miller: "The cliché—the people own the air—has seemed to have great, mysterious importance." To Durr, the people's ownership of the air is not a cliché; it is a basic tenet.

Miller was not merely voicing obiter dicta; he meant business. As his principal speaker for the convention's first official luncheon he had Representative Clarence F. Lea (D, Calif.), author of the Lea "anti-Petrillo" Act. That bit of legislation was the curtain raiser for the Taft-Hartley bill. Three seats away from Lea, on the dais, sat Robert R. Wason, chairman of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers. Wason spoke later the same day —delivering straight NAM Red-baiting, undiluted, and at moments literally frothing at the mouth.

THAT Miller meant business became evident, also, when the delegates were presented with drafts of two proposed documents. The NAB members could only discuss these proposals—not vote on them. Sparked by Ted Cott, of WNEW, New York, and Allen Sayler, radio director of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), the first of the documents got plenty of discussion. This draft tries to set up for the broadcasting industry a code for self-policing. Where the new code would police commercial practices, the dice seem loaded in favor of the big networks and against the independents.

Cott pointed out that, though 44 percent of the NAB's members are independent broadcasters, not one of them was on the committee working on the code. And when the code gets away from commercial practices into programming, it sets standards which Sayler attacked. Under the proposals, for instance, each station would decide for itself what is and what is not "controversial" matter. "Controversy" is not defined, but Sayler saw it relegated to inferior time periods. And, worse, "controversy" could not be dramatized. The code could bar radio dramatizations advocating equality for the Negro, elimination of slums or the use of atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes!

But the second document really went at the FCC and everything that Durr has stood for. It is called "First Draft of Proposed Radio Legislation." It rewrites the Communications Act of 1934, prohibiting the FCC from inquiring, regulating or even issuing a report about radio programming. Under the act as the NAB would amend it, the FCC would be able to ask a broadcast-license applicant only three questions: How much money have you; did you observe the technical regulation about frequency, channel, etc.; are you an American citizen? An applicant's professional morals, civic consciousness, programming know-how or even lip-service acknowledgment that he must serve the "public interest, convenience and necessity"—these are not fit subjects for FCC inquiry. And under the proposal, once a license is issued, it will be held virtually in perpetuity. All this sounds like a sickening slide backward, which it is.

The FM industry, instead of stepping out boldly to carve its own path, is allowing itself to be led by the broadcasters of AM (standard) radio. The FMA's self-indictment was evident in two facts. It invited Cliff Durr, but did not put him on the program. It did not invite Petrillo, but gave its principal luncheon speaking spot to Representative Carroll D. Kearns, the Republican from Pennsylvania who is "investigating" Petrillo.

ALL in all, broadcasting put on a sad show. There is more hope in the FMA, but little in the NAB under its present leadership. William S. Paley, the CBS board chairman who a year ago in Chicago set a higher tone for the industry, was greatly missed.

The industry recognized openly the existence of an alliance against the listener. I myself saw no evidence of American Legion influence at the NAB convention. But the trade paper, the *Billboard,* headlined a convention report with "NAB, NAM, Legion Vs. FCC?" There was one thing wrong with the *Billboard's* interpretation. Those forces are not just against the FCC. They are against the 107 million who could like a free radio.

SAUL CARSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Movies

Mostly Whimsy

I WAS very fond of the play, "Life with Father," and sat in sadness as the familiar scenes and characters unreeled into a travesty in Technicolor. Although the picture has added sequences of some charm, like the shopping scene in McCreery's and the time that Father, airing his French and full of charmingly naïve punctilio, takes some of his family to Delmonico's, the screen version is a letdown. Clarence Day's saga is a tender reminiscence of family life with which people affectionately identified themselves for 3,213 performances. For eight years and some weeks it was a New York institution; and the movie, to be kind about it, is inadequate to that great reputation. However, if you've never seen the play, you might go and get a vague idea. Part of the audience in the big Broadway house where I saw it not only paid $2.50 for the privilege but dearly loved what they got.

THERE is an English picture, made some years ago, called "Tawny Pipit." It is now playing in a posh New York theater, but may get around the country eventually. It is about a pair of birds, *anthus campestris,* which turn out to be a kind of thrush so rare that they can have a good-sized village—and it would appear, if given more acclaim, a whole war-preoccupied nation—agog with the wonder of their appearance. "Tawny Pipit" has gotten rave reviews, an accolade which advances two main ideas.

One group of enthusiasts would have it that this is the most entrancing, delightful, and, yes, persuasive (would you like to be a bird?) little tale told in a long time. The other profoundly states that only in free countries do birds get the attention they deserve. I disagree with the first school of near-thought in that, easily amused as I have proved myself, these unattractive, story-book village characters seem awfully coy to me. As for the deep-implications department, I recall that the Nazis were inordinately fond of animals, presumably including birds, while they thought what they thought about human beings. "Tawny Pipit" has a few amusing moments—there is a soldier on a tank who, as an amateur ornithologist, identifies some plastic eggs, and the scene in which the cleric and a lady parishioner rehearse a song in praise of pipits and their coming "to Lipsbury Lea to breed."

"DARK PASSAGE" is so bad that I worry about Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall. He looks worn and peaked and she is in danger, perhaps, of freezing to death. I affirm that I like these two actors: he has been, and I hope will be again, a fine actor; she may no longer have possibilities outside of the mold she's been typed in, but she has beauty, a voice and a sort of adamant intelligence. Rotten stories and the perpetual poised disillusion that comprise her professional life have turned a potentially interesting actress into a dead duck. The team has been made ridiculous in the stuff they have been doing. Perhaps an out-and-out burlesque of their routine, with as much tympani and as much satire as their mentors can muster, could pull them out of the silly shallows they're floundering in. I find I cannot go through any consecutive synopsis of "Dark Passage." It is the mixture as before, with plastic surgery thrown in.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

FOR CHRISTMAS
The Largest Oranges you have ever seen!
Direct from the famous
INDIAN RIVER Citrus Fruit Belt
This is our regular 30-lb. DREAM Basket clothed in glamor bulging full of the most luscious tree-ripened Oranges, Grapefruit, with more zip, flavor, tang, and juice than any you have ever tasted.
Each Individual Basket is a Masterpiece.
Only 1% of Florida's entire orange and grapefruit yield boasts of this supreme quality. To insure delivery place your order . . . NOW.
INTRODUCTORY SPECIALS
30 LB. DREAM BASKET
ASSORTED FANCY FRUIT $7.50
SPECIAL BASKET 55 POUNDS $15
FULL CRATE 90 POUNDS $25
Every piece of fruit GUARANTEED tree-ripened and hand-picked for extra-size and juiciness. Shipped Express Prepaid.
Enclose check or Money Order.
Let us send Florida sunshine to you and your friends. Thrill them with a basket of utopian goodness.
See why particular people send for our prize fruit year after year.
ORANGES Inc.
MELBOURNE
FLORIDA

RESORTS
HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR—FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walk and hike through magnificent Fall foliage. Tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding. Golf course nearby. Delicious food. Easy transportation. American-Jewish cooking. Attractive Fall rates
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299

The KNICKERBOCKER
WEST COPAKE, N. Y. 57-R-4
GOOD BOOKS • GOOD MUSIC
EXCELLENT FOOD—Amer. Jewish Cuisine
CONGENIAL RESTFUL ATMOSPHERE
Winter Sports
Indoor Ping Pong • Enclosed Porch
OPEN ALL YEAR FOR YOUR COMFORT

MESSENGERS
BONDED MESSENGERS
Courteous, fast, reasonable. Specializing in PUBLISHING, ADVERTISING, TRAVEL PUBLICITY. Since 1936. Allied Messenger Service, Main Office, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, COlumbus 5-4324—5—6.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

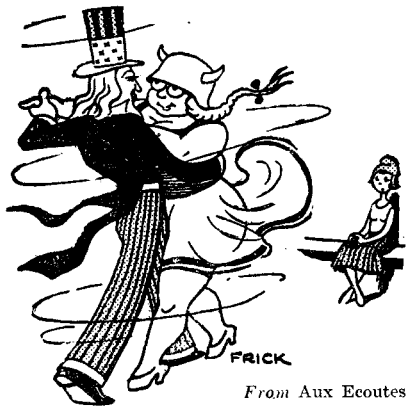
THE PRESS IN EUROPE: A New Feature by Eva Putnam

THE American press's reputation for speed is due in some part to the immediacy of its editorial reaction. This fast reflex is by no means characteristic of the European press. Only recently, for example, have French editorial writers caught up with two American-made topics: the role delegated to France within the Marshall Plan by the London and Washington coal conferences, and the exchange of letters between Pope Pius and President Truman.

The Marshall Plan was received with hopeful expectancy when first announced in the French press. But as time—and a series of conferences—went on, it came to be regarded with increasing suspicion. Attacked at first by the leftist press only, the Marshall Plan is now questioned by editors of the Right as well.

Carrefour, the anti-Communist MRP weekly, editorializes on the plan under the heading "Europe with or without Germany?" The new level-of-industry plan approved by the US and Britain, says *Carrefour,* sets German steel production at about 12 million tons yearly —"four million tons more than specified by the Potsdam Agreement." France is at present producing six million tons of steel annually, and would need to increase her coke imports by eight million tons a year before she could reach the steel output planned for Germany. But, writes *Carrefour,* coke comes to France from the Ruhr, and Ruhr coke is now earmarked for German priority. The question remains: "France *or* Germany?"

Action, the Communist daily, attacks the Marshall Plan in more concrete terms. An editorial signed by Pierre Courtade, "The Granary Lies Behind the Iron Curtain," argues that the countries of Eastern Europe could furnish France with gasoline, bauxite, coal, cereals and wood. "To take but one example," says Courtade, "the recent French-Polish agreement assures us more coal already than the tripartite London conference permitted us to get from the Ruhr." The editorial goes on to say that while the proposed trade with the West would involve France in the abyss of "world-wide dollar famine," she would have no trouble at all paying for trade with the East with dinars, zlotys and rubles.



From Aux Ecoutes

"There is indeed an iron curtain," says the editorial in closing, "drawn by unscrupulous political maneuvers of the West between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Granary."

UNE SEMAINE, a Left-of-Center but not Communist weekly, headlines its editorial, "The American Decision: Germany Before Europe," and questions the American point of view on two grounds: 1. Since German steel output has not yet reached the 5.8 million-ton yearly level agreed to by the four powers in 1946, why was it necessary to call a special and tripartite London session to raise that level to 12 million? *Une Semaine* believes that this was done solely to produce a "psychological shock" which will make four-power consideration of the over-all German problem impossible at the scheduled November conference. 2. Why did the United States raise the price of German coal at the precise moment when the non-convertibility of the British sterling has added to France's already strained paying capacity? "This . . . is a plain refutation of the American argument that they want to rebuild Germany in order to help European recovery."

The Truman-Pope Pius correspondence (exchanged on the occasion of Myron C. Taylor's latest mission to the Vatican) receives comment in two politically opposed dailies, the Communist *L'Humanité* and the liberal but anti-Communist *Combat.*

The London conference has left France defenseless against German steel production, says *L'Humanité* in an article which carries the cumbersome headline, "The London Conference Gave Priorities to Germany and Now the Pope and Truman Construct the Rome-Washington Axis." The editorial sums up: "The only important thing to Europe's reactionaries is the assurance of American aid in the fight against democracy," and to support this fight, "Pope Pius and President Truman now announce the creation of their moral Christian axis opposed to collective states they call enemies of God."

Combat's article, signed by Georges Fradier, criticizes President Truman for "calling for a crusade . . . and promising to do all in his power to contribute to the union of the world's moral forces . . . a union strong enough to fight if need be," and asks: "Just who are these moral forces? What uniforms do they wear? And against whom are they to fight?" The writer then outlines what the Pope *should* have replied to President Truman's letter: "It does not behoove us to accuse any one group or any one army of being 'enemies of Christ' . . . for the Master ordered that we do not sit in judgment over our fellow men."

Expressing sorrow at the "pharisean pride" with which the President refers to his own nation as a "Christian nation," the Pope should have concluded with: "Would that Your Excellency and the people of the United States work sincerely toward peace, and do it in humility and without considering yourselves the soldiers of Christ . . . lest your differences with those of Slavic origin turn into a religious war."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURE

LIZABETH SCOTT • JOHN HODIAK
BURT LANCASTER
In HAL WALLIS' PRODUCTION
'Desert Fury'
Color by TECHNICOLOR
A PARAMOUNT PICTURE
IN PERSON
DESI ARNAZ
and his Orchestra featuring DULCINA
Plus RUDY CARDENAS
Plus THE THREE NONCHALANTS
MARION HUTTON
NOW TIMES SQUARE PARAMOUNT Midnight Feature Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY

The Nation's Laugh Hit!
by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM Thea. 45 St. E. of B'way

COURSES

INTER-AMERICAN ACADEMY presents
PSYCHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIFE
—10 MONDAYS AT 8:30 P. M.—
FROM OCTOBER 6th
Lectures and Student Participation
Basic patterns of human behavior and the real meaning of psychological terms, facts and theories.
Personality tests . . . extroversion-introversion . . . races and cultures . . . emotions . . . child behavior . . . intelligence . . . future trends
No Previous Training Required. Fee: $15
. . . REGISTER NOW . . .
Register from 6:00 to 9:00 P. M. on Sept. 18, 22, 25, 30 or by mail.
INTER-AMERICAN ACADEMY
WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING, 20 W. 40th ST.

—If—

you have a special need or want, or a special service, or product to offer, use the classified columns of the NEW REPUBLIC.

Circulation is currently at an all-time high, well in excess of our guarantee of 75,000 net-paid.

Classified Rate: 20¢ a word for 1 insertion; 19¢ a word for 6 insertions; 17¢ a word for 13 insertions; 15¢ a word for 26 insertions; 13¢ a word for 52 insertions.

New Republic's
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING
40 East 49th St., New York 17, N. Y.
PLaza 9-1600

Business

(*Continued from page 22*)

take three years to build new steel plant to increase the capacity. In the meantime, that balance will involve steel shortages, high prices and a black market. Those were the very sins that the industry blamed on the OPA and whose disappearance was predicted under the beneficent rule of supply and demand.

PRODUCT after product shows the same supply-and-demand fallacy. Prices and profits went up, but the volume of production has fallen off. Non-durable goods reached a peak last January, and have fallen steadily ever since. Durable goods dropped off in the second quarter of this year. And prices and profits continue to hit new highs.

Eugene Holman of Standard Oil of New Jersey, one of the few companies that has bucked the upward price trend, rather let the cat out of the bag when he said he was opposed to price increases "unless such increases will tend to maintain or bring out additional supplies." Without using violent language he was, in effect, pointing up the fact that in almost no case have the increases in prices and profits had the effect of expanding production and lowering prices.

Which reminds me of the time I was talking with Ralph Robey of the NAM about his fuss with CIO economist Robert Nathan. After Robey had expounded a full hour on supply and demand and how they were going to bring prices down, I asked him whether he really believed that businessmen would behave the way NAM press releases said they would. He smiled charmingly, calculated a moment, and replied: "Well, there may be too many vultures in business for it to work out that way." This is a good thing to remember in any discussion of what, if anything, to do about prices.

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
23rd ST.
BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO
"Gay and Nostalgic."—N. Y. Post
JUNE HAVER • MARK STEVENS
'I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now'
In TECHNICOLOR
— and —
'Wyoming' William ELLIOTT Vera RALSTON John CARROLL

BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU, Coney Is
QUEENS
ALDEN, Jamaica
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's Flushing
Keith's Rich. Hill
Strand, Far Rock.
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"Tense Adventure."—N. Y. Times
ROBERT YOUNG
SUSAN HAYWARD
Jane GREER • Rita JOHNSON
'They Won't Believe Me'
— AND —
'Woman on the Beach'
Joan BENNETT • Robert RYAN

RKO ALBEE FULTON & DeKALB BROOKLYN 2d Week
"A Merry Spree"—N. Y. World-Telegram
CARY GRANT • MYRNA LOY • SHIRLEY TEMPLE
The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer
— AND —
New Second Feature
SEVEN KEYS TO BALDPATE

"Keeps everyone on his toes."—World Tel.

"In your mind and your heart, you will go on seeing it again and again."
"My Father's House"
Palestine's first feature film with an English-speaking Palestinian cast.
FROM THE NOVEL BY
MEYER LEVIN
WORLD PREMIER—CONTINUOUS SHOWING
COOL
AMBASSADOR
49th St., West of Broadway

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"INFLATION (AND A TRAGIC DEPRESSION) IS COMING!"

Recent Price Rises are "DANGEROUS," says President Truman!
We are "on the brink of an engulfing inflation," says Bernard Baruch!
"Prices are so high . . . it will mean falling demand, lower production, fewer jobs."—The Nation

Maybe you're earning the highest wages you ever made in your life . . . maybe you're planning on a new car, a new home. BUT, before you spend a single penny on ANY investment, here are the facts you MUST FACE, or you may be on a breadline just one year from today! Almost every day the headlines cry that inflation is busting loose! . . . Prices have risen more in the last months than in the last four years! In his recent speech to the nation President Truman revealed that "House furnishings, for example, have gone up 25 per cent above the 1945 average. Clothing has gone up 24 per cent . . . the food rise has been 36 per cent." The cost of living is dizzily rising and will lead to THE GREATEST FINANCIAL DISASTER IN HISTORY! Sooner than you think, the value of your money may be reduced tremendously. You may spend in a week's time the savings that have taken you a lifetime to accumulate. You may lose the insurance that may reflect years of scrimping and saving to protect your family in case of an emergency. . . . The house which you had hoped would be a lifetime haven may be foreclosed because you can't afford the payments, taxes, or interest. The job that seems so promising today may be your LAST STOP before relief, charity, or starvation. This is not idle guesswork! INFLATION and DEPRESSION MUST COME says Ralph Borsodi, the nationally famous economist who predicted the 1929 crash. For more than three decades he has studied the causes and effects of the world's most terrible financial disasters, has founded a nationally known research program and educational institution to study these evils. Now, after spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in research and study, Ralph Borsodi offers the sanest, most practical means ever devised to protect you and your family BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

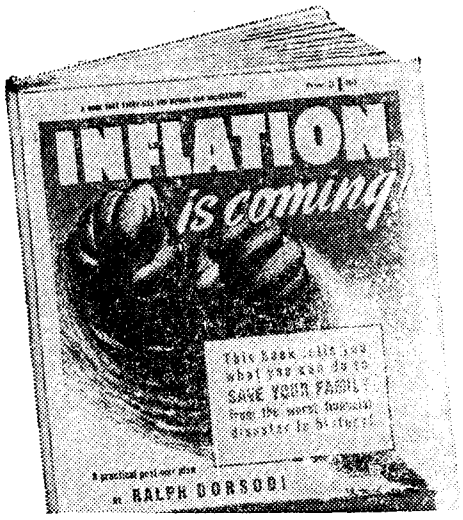
HOW THIS BOOK PROTECTS YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

1. **What to do about your savings and bank deposits.**
2. **How to guard against your stocks and bonds becoming worthless.**
3. **What to do about your life insurance policies.**
4. **How to protect yourself against foreclosures on your homes or farm.**
5. **What families dependent on salaries should do NOW.**
6. **What farm families should do.**
7. **What families dependent on social security in the event of unemployment should do.**

WHY INFLATION AND DEPRESSION MUST COME—This book shows you, in words, pictures and easily understood diagrams why inflation and depression are inevitable. It traces the complete picture of the business cycle, compares present-day events with those which preceded other inflation depression periods, proves BEYOND A SHADOW OF A DOUBT that your future, and that of your family, is in DIRE PERIL, unless you act now.

SHOWS YOU HOW TO AVOID THIS DANGER—This great book has not been written simply to alarm you. It points out the inevitable catastrophe towards which you, like millions of other Americans, are headed. . . . AND TELLS YOU WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT. In common-sense, every-day language Ralph Borsodi shows you how to protect your family and your possessions without depriving yourself of luxuries, by following a few simple rules of logic. Regardless of whether you are single or married, work in the city or the country, own a business or work for others, there is a message for you in this book that you simply can't afford to ignore.

START PLANNING NOW! When inflation strikes it will be too late. Thousands of people all over the country are using "INFLATION IS COMING!" to prepare themselves for the coming crisis. Order your copy NOW. It's only a dollar . . . a dollar that may save your entire future.



$1.00

He predicted the 1929 crash! RALPH BORSODI...

The distinguished author of "INFLATION IS COMING!" has been consulting economist to many of the largest firms in America including Dupont Rayons, R. H. Macy & Co., the National Retail Dry Goods Ass'n, and the Spool Cotton Co.

Mr. Borsodi is the author of such widely acclaimed books as: "Prosperity and Security," "The Distribution Age," "Flight from the City," "This Ugly Civilization"...and many others!...

BAYARD LANE, Inc., Publishers Dept. N R 9
Research Division of The School of Living
Suffern, New York

Of course I want to protect myself and my family against the worst financial disaster in history. Send me a copy of "INFLATION IS COMING!" I enclose $1 (dollar bill, check or money order). If not completely satisfied, I may return book in 5 days and you will refund my money.
☐ Send C. O. D. On arrival I will pay postman $1.00 plus postage. Same refund guarantee.

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City*_____ *Zone*_____ *State*_____

MONEY BACK IF BOOK IS RETURNED IN 5 DAYS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED